The Gilyak, Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu; Articles and Materials
/Gili͡aki, orochi, gol'dy, negidal'tsy, ainy; stati i materialy/

by Lev I͡A. Shternberg

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/Title page/

akh -- a Chinese slave

ańg:ej -- a marriage class composed of women whom by the kinship nomenclature ego calls "wife" and whose agnates he calls akhmalk'i ("fathers-in-law"). These women would consist of: (1) daughters of all the "brothers" of the mothers, (2) all the "sisters" of the wife, (3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers, (4) "sisters" of the "father-in-law" of the son, (5) individual wives of all aki (brothers who are older than the person speaking), and (6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking.

chegin -- the major of the three souls of man

chkhnaj -- wooden image of Pal-n'igyvyn (a god)

chukh-chugynd -- a sacrifice

hap -- the stacked firewood of a funeral pyre

kekhn -- spirit helper of the shaman

kenchkh -- a supernatural bird "which comes on the wind," used by shamans

khal -- clan

khlay-nivukh -- an able and eloquent man, often an orator, who tries to establish peaceful relationships between feuding clans

kitus -- a supernatural worm-like creature used by shamans

krygrys -- an Ainu slave

langraf -- a shed for childbirth
lernd -- conjuring
lung -- fire drill
milk -- an evil spirit
mlyvo -- the world of the dead
mástun-n'ivukh -- storyteller
okht -- love magic
pandf -- people of common origin, cognates
m'astund -- heroic tales
pila uigryf -- house in which the bear festival is celebrated
pryski -- the favorite dog of the deceased who is afforded special treatment during the funeral and mourning period
pu -- the name given by each woman to a man whom she calls "husband," in addition to her own official husband; these are: (1) all the sons of the sisters of her father, (2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands, and (3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband, and among some groups of Gilyak, all the brothers
raf -- a little house with a little door, placed over a grave

ruvn -- brothers, actual and classificatory in the clan
shagynd -- an object of value used as part of the bride price
taru -- talisman
tkhusind -- ransom
tongch -- a representation of twins which is placed in a small storehouse and sacrificed to at the full and new moon
tugur -- the "master" of the fire (a supernatural being)
ulgind -- a sin
ymgii -- son-in-law

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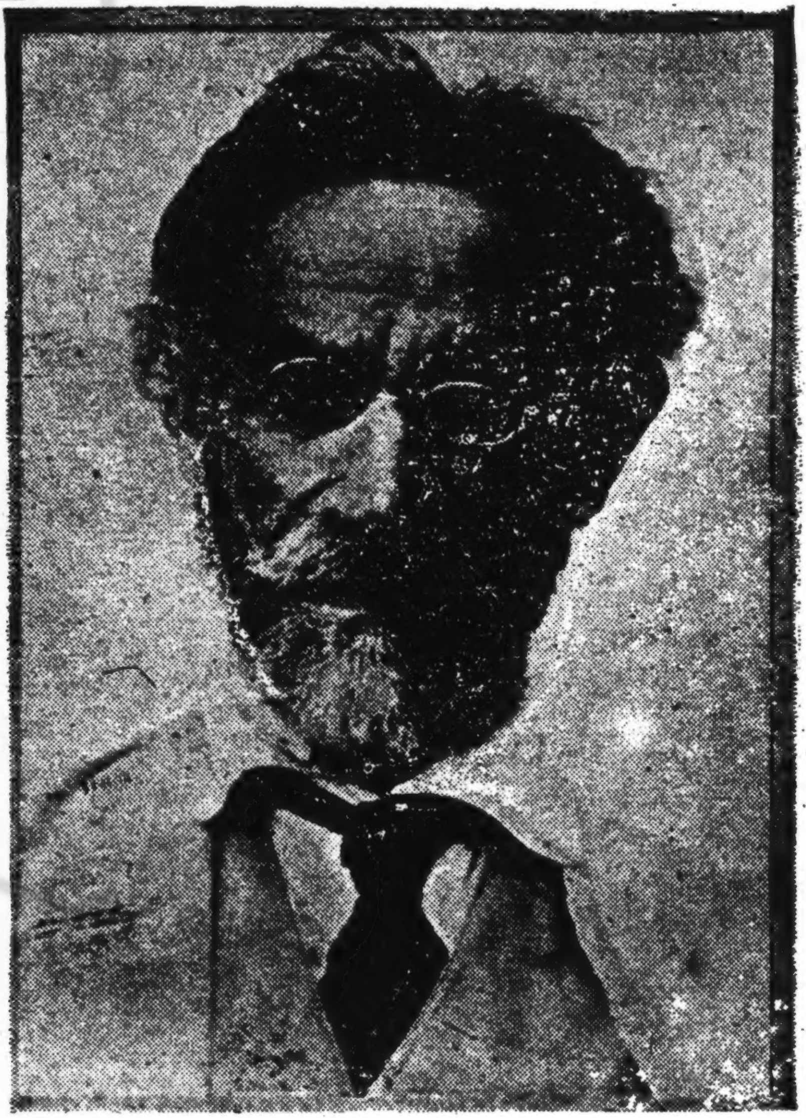

L. IA. Shternberg

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/The translation ends with p. 388 of the original text, which continues with sections on the Orochi, Goldi, Negidal, Ainu, and Shternberg's investigations in the Far East. The illustrations pertaining to the Gilyak, Photos. 16-26, follow the translation of the text, and the items in the list of errata on pp. 738-740 of the original text have been incorporated in the translation./

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L. IA. Shternberg as an Investigator of the Peoples of the Far East

IA. P. Al'kor (Koshkin)

*114 L. IA. Shternberg devoted a significant part of his life to the study of the peoples of the Far East. His scientific work began with the study of the Gilyak on Sakhalin (in 1890); it so prematurely ended with a paper on the "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (in 1927), upon his return from the Third Pacific Congress in Tokyo.

In his youth Shternberg did not think of scientific work. While still on the schoolbench, he dreamed of giving his whole life "for the good of the people." As a student in the Physics-Mathematics Department of St. Petersburg University and later in the Department of Law of the Novorossisk University, Shternberg took part in revolutionary activity, to which he gave his best young years. He was arrested in 1886 for active participation in the "The People's Will" party, and in the spring of 1889, after a three-year "stretch" in the Odessa central prison, he was deported for ten years to Sakhalin Island, where his ethnographic work began. Thus, the Tsarist prison and exile pushed Shternberg quite unexpectedly onto the path of a scientist.

*114 It is true that even before his arrest and exile, Shternberg
121 was interested in questions of primitive history and sociology, but
127 he received the decisive push in that direction in the Odessa prison, where, due to a happy accident, he became acquainted with F. E Engels' book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, in German. This book, as we shall see later, greatly facilitated the beginning of Shternberg's investigations on the history of family-clan relations and had a highly significant influence on his first works.

*114 Setting out in exile, Shternberg nourished the hope that even in distant banishment he would in one way or another be able to be useful to the community, but he did not even think about ethnographic work among the local /xii/ "natives" (in the

/xii cont./

*114 terminology of that time). Shternberg met his first "native" at the Aleksandrovsk post, i.e., at the point of his initial deportation, three months after his arrival on Sakhalin. About the impression [117] that this meeting made on Shternberg, there is a characteristic entry in his diary for the twelfth of August, 1889: "I saw on the street an old Gilyak shaman in rags, with tousled gray hair and a foolish, good-natured-cunning smile on his face. Small boys surrounded him and shouted: 'Look at the old shaman, he will do some divining for you.' I approached. The old man, small in stature, with dignified gray hair, a high, powerful forehead, and a good-natured expression, stood helpless among them and looked at me. I departed from that sight with sadness..." Shternberg ends his entry in the diary with the significant sentence: "Some day I shall make a study of them" (1).

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1. "L. IA. Shternberg as a field ethnographer," in the periodical, Priroda i liudi, Nos. 17/18 and 19, p. 33, Leningrad, 1931.

Very soon, six months after this meeting with the Gilyak shaman, the Sakhalin administration "took the trouble' to give Shternberg the opportunity to study the Gilyak. Actually, due to his systematic attempts to defend his comrade -- political exiles, to whom corporal punishment and similar measures were beginning to be applied, he was sent in February, 1890, to the isolated cordon of Viakhtu, located 100 kilometers to the north of Aleksandrovsk in a half-deserted place on the shore of Tatar Strait. Here, in a walled-off corner of the hut-prison which he shared with his guards, Shternberg set up a "study" and began his ethnographic work. Not far (two kilometers) from the cordon there was a little Gilyak settlement which Shternberg started to visit often and to observe attentively the life of its inhabitants. Very soon, after thoughtful and extensive research, he succeeded in uncovering the peculiar family-clan structure of the Gilyak. Within the cordon itself, which was located near a thoroughfare, he first met even some Tungus who happened to be passing through.

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*114 Shternberg commenced a broader and a more systematic study of the Gilyak in the first part of February, 1891, when the administration, having learned of his work with the Gilyak, commissioned him to make a family census of the northwestern Gilyak of Sakhalin from the village of Arkyvo to Cape Marii.

/xiii/ During this trip Shternberg discovered group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak. Parallel to this, he carefully studied the clan rules and religious views of the
*114 Gilyak. It might be mentioned here that prior to his scientific re-
127 search he had not even had the opportunity to become familiar with the basic works of that time on the ethnography of the Far East. This is what he writes in the preface to his "Materialy /Materials/": "Due to the conditions of my stay on Sakhalin, even Schrenck's work on the history and material culture of the Amur peoples remained inaccessible to me for a long time... (1). From a careful analysis of Shternberg's literary heritage and of his first printed works, it is clear that at the time of his first trip to the Gilyak he had not had the opportunity to acquaint himself with either Schrenck's book, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskogo kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, or even Morgan's Ancient Society (Drevnee obshchestvo), Tylor's Pervobytnaia kul'tura /Primitive Culture/, or the other works on the history of primitive society.
*114 On the other hand, his prison acquaintance with Engels' classic
121 work was not wasted on him. There is no doubt but that it was
127 thanks to this study that he was able in such an astonishingly short period to discover among the Gilyak group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship and, basically, to realize clearly
[212] the full significance of this discovery. Thus, in a letter of the nineteenth of May to his good friend and companion-in-arms in

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[113] 1. Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, p. viii, St. Petersburg, 1908, publication of the Academy of Sciences.

/xiii cont./

*114 121 127 [212] revolutionary activity, M. A. Krol', Shternberg writes (2):

2. I am indebted to the kindness of the widow of the deceased, S. A. Ratner-Shternberg, for acquainting me with the contents of this letter.

"I have discovered among them (the Gilyak) a kinship terminology and family-clan rights identical with those of the Iroquois and the famous punalua family (on the Sandwich Islands), in a word, the remains of that form of marriage on which Morgan based his theory and which served as a point of departure for Marx' and Engels' works on Der Ursprung der Familie, des Staates, u. s. w. /the origin of the family, of the state, etc./. The interesting clan organization of the Gilyak, however, rests on this kinship system. At first I was afraid to trust my own discovery, but, having let not a single family or a single yurt go by during the census without detailed questioning as to what different members of the clan and family call one another and who has what rights, I finally became convinced (3). /xiv/ Although there are voluminous studies on the Gilyak, no one in the literature known to me has studied this aspect of the question."

[161] 3. Earlier in the same letter Shternberg mentioned that he had covered 1,040 Gilyak in his census.

*114 After his investigation of the Gilyak of the northwest coast,
there followed a series of other trips which resulted in a full ethno-
[125] graphic study of all Sakhalin. Thus, in June, 1891, he took the
census of the Gilyak and the Orochi on the river Tym' and on the
east coast of Sakhalin, and a partial one of the Tungus. In the
winter of 1891 he encountered the Olcha who visited Sakhalin late
in the fall for trading purposes. He spent the summer of 1892
[125] traveling on the river Poronai and around the entire southern part
of Sakhalin as far as the settlement of Kosunaya, where, along with
the Ainu and the Orok, he also studied and took a census of the
Gilyak.

G /xiv cont./

*114 Gilyak. In the summer of 1893 Shternberg investigated the western shores of Sakhalin from Arkyvo to Sortunaya and studied the Gilyak. In 1894 he made a second summer trip to the Gilyak along the west coast of northern Sakhalin, where he studied Stone Age remains and made a detailed study of the change in the make-up of the population as compared with 1891.

In 1895 Shternberg received permission to cross temporarily from Sakhalin to the mainland for scientific purposes, on the condition that he would move within a restricted area precisely defined by the administration. In the summer of that year he left the post of Aleksandrovsk on the ship Vladimir for Vladivostok. Even this boat trip was not wasted for him from the standpoint of ethnographic research: Aboard the ship he found a few Orochi from Dat and from the Imperial Harbor region, and he discovered that they referred to themselves as Nani.

The lateness of the season did not permit Shternberg to visit the lower reaches of the Amur during the same year, and he utilized the short space of time left before the closing of navigation to make a general survey of the country between Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk. In Blagoveshchensk Shternberg visited the well-known expert on the language of the Goldi, Protodiakonov, who gave Shternberg an Orochi-Russian dictionary dotted with autograph Goldi translations. From Protodiakonov Shternberg learned that the Goldi called themselves Nanai, and here the idea came to him that the Orok, Olcha, Orochi, and the Goldi were one tribe, inasmuch as they bore the same self-designation. Gi [101]

At the end of June, 1896, Shternberg undertook a trip to the Amur Gilyak. At the same time the opportunity presented itself /xv/ to visit on the way that part of Tatar Strait which is inhabited by the Orochi as well. Although he had very little time at his disposal and could not spare more than a month for the Orochi, he nevertheless decided to take advantage of this opportunity. During his stay among the Orochi, Shternberg visited their settlements in Imperial Harbor and the Ui and Dyuanka bays, the settlement of Dat, and all the settlements along the river Tumnin up to Muli-Dat, and during this expedition he also met some Orochi from more remote parts.

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*114 Having finished his investigation of the Orochi, in August of the same year Shternberg proceeded from Imperial Harbor to the lower reaches of the Amur, where along with the study of the Gilyak he became acquainted with the Olcha. During this trip he covered the lower reaches of the Amur as far as Sofisk and also the sea coast north from the Amur estuary up to the river Kol' and south to the settlement of Chom.

Shternberg spent the winter of 1896-1897 once again on Sakhalin and continued studying the language, folklore, and customs of the Gilyak and also rechecked his earlier observations.

In May, 1897, Shternberg, included under the amnesty following the manifesto of 1895, left Sakhalin before the expiration of his term and returned to his homeland, where he received, in addition, three years under police surveillance (1).

Thus, during his eight-year stay in exile, Shternberg had investigated in detail the social structure, religious views, and common law of the Sakhalin and Amur Gilyak and, in addition, had thoroughly studied the Gilyak language and folklore. He studied the Orochi, Orok, Sakhalin Tungus, Ainu, and the Olcha in the same way, and partially the Negidal from chance encounters with them in the lower reaches of the Amur.

After the trip in 1896 there was a break of 13 full years in the expeditionary activity of Shternberg. Only in 1910, on commission from the Russian Committee on the Study of East and Central Asia, was Shternberg able to return once again to the Amur and Sakhalin, this time as a recognized scientist. [122]

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1. According to the manifesto, the term of exile was to be reduced by one-third, i.e., by three years, three months, and ten days, but, thanks to the "efforts" of the local administration, the reduction amounted to one year, five months.

Goldi RX3

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*G 114 Gi 114 The main goal of this expedition was to continue his earlier linguistic and ethnographic work among the Gilyak of the lower Amur and the island of Sakhalin. Shternberg intended to remain among the Goldi and Olcha only a short time in order to acquaint himself with their life merely insofar as this might be significant for a better understanding /xvi/ of certain aspects of the life and history of the Gilyak. But matters did not quite turn out as intended, for the greater part of the time of the expedition was spent on the study of the Goldi and on a passing acquaintance with the Negidal, Ainu Ude (using his term of that time for the Orochon, and the Olcha. With this expedition Shternberg finished the field study of the peoples of the Amur basin and of Sakhalin.

II.

*G 114 Before proceeding to an examination of the works of L. IA. Shternberg on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is absolutely necessary, in order to understand them correctly, to consider his philosophical views, albeit within the briefest limits.

During those years when Shternberg's world outlook was forming, he was a Russian Populist and, as such, a supporter of the so-called Russian subjective school in sociology, the leaders of which were P. L. Lavrov and N. K. Mikhailovsky; the spiritual father, Bruno Bauer.

According to the aims of the subjective sociologists, fundamentally opposed to the aims of Marxism, the basic cause of social phenomena is the ideals and goals of men, which, according to them, separates social evolution from natural-historical evolution and requires that it be studied with the help of a special "subjective" method, consisting of the examination and evaluation of the entire past and present from the point of view of an ideal social structure fully corresponding to the demands of human nature. It follows from this that to properly understand the past and change the existing order it is necessary to create common ideals, utopias, which is what occupied the subjective sociologists. They were not in the

/xvi cont./

*114 least disturbed by the fact that "the view that the conditions of man s life are created by his ideas and notions, and not the other way around, is refuted by his whole history, in which, up to the present time, he has attained something a little different from what he wanted, and, in the long view, even the opposite in most cases" (1).

Thus, the distinctive feature of the subjectivists is the view that "the world of justice, the world of truth and right" stands "outside any relationship with the objective course of historical development, here -- 'justice,' there 'actuality,' and these /xvii/ two areas are separated one from the other by a whole gulf" (1), and therefore they could not explain the past or propose real means for changing the present.

From the above, the enormous role which the subjectivists ascribed to the "critically thinking" individuals in working out the ideals and directing history on the desired course becomes understandable. There is no objective criterion for such ideals, according to the views of the subjectivists, for the opinion of the majority cannot serve as a measure of truth (2). The subjective sociologists

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[113] 1. F. Engels, Appendix to "Anti-Dühring," Collected Works of Marx and Engels /cited in Russian in the original text/, Vol. XIV, p. 364.

[113] 1. Plekhanov, "K voprosy o razvitii monisticheskogo vzglizda na istoriiu /On the Question of the Development of the Monistic View of History/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Vol. VII, p. 102.

2. From the Marxist point of view, such an understanding of objectivity is absurd. "Majority," "mob," etc. consist of people, but the views of

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*114

> people are always subjective, representing one of the characteristics of the subject. The views of the "mob" are not objective; it is the relationships in nature or society that are expressed in those views that are objective. The criterion for truth lies not within me, but in the relationships existing outside of me. Those views which faithfully represent these relationships are true; those views which distort them are false" (Plekhanov, op. cit., p. 226).

absolutely did not understand the role of the individual in history and therefore found it possible to accuse Marxists of ignoring the individual, not understanding that only Marxism explains the actual role and significance of the individual. An exaggeration of the role of the individual, not understanding his actual role, goes through all the works of Shternberg, like a red thread.

For the subjective sociologists there is no class understanding of a social-economic formation; they seek the development of society in general, think up different formulas of progress, carry on arguments about the essence and goal of society, etc. The definition of society given by L. IA. Shternberg was composed in this spirit. "Society" -- he writes in his lectures on "Evoliutsiia sotsial'noi kul'tury /The Evolution of Social Culture/" -- "is an aggregate of people... permanent, not transient, and, furthermore, bound by biological ties in the broad sense of that word, i.e., by those intrinsic, not transient interests which arise from the very nature of man."

In reply to the subjectivists, Lenin writes: "To begin with the questions, what is society, what is progress -- is to begin at the end. Where will your understanding of society and progress in general come from, when you still have not studied a single social formation and, in particular, have not even been able to establish this concept, have not even been able to approach serious, factual

*114 /xviii/ study, the objective analysis of any kind of social relationships whatever (1).

[113]

1. "Chto takoe 'druz'ia naroda' i kak oni voiuiut protiv sotsial-demokratof /What 'friends of the people' are and how they struggle against the Social Democrats/," Collected Works /cited in Russian/, Lenin, Vol. I, p. 74.

It has never occurred to the subjective sociologists, including L. IA. Shternberg, that "instead of study and explanation, such methods only give support to the concept of society either of the bourgeois ideas of the English huckster, or the narrow-minded socialistic ideals of the Russian democrat -- and nothing more" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 75.

And actually, their theory is merely an expression of the social ideas of the Russian petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of a particular period and has not advanced mankind a single step toward an understanding of real social relationships or of those which "correspond to human nature."

The desire of the subjective sociologists to lift themselves above the question of the class struggle and to examine all social phenomena from a superclass point of view of abstract justice is well known. Proceeding from this, the subjectivists waged a bitter battle with the Marxist understanding of the theory of the class struggle, in particular advancing a theory about the "artificiality" of capitalism in Russia and about the absolute possibility of passing from the rural obshchina /community/ of the nineteenth century to socialism. There is no class struggle in the works of Shternberg. All the questions there are examined from some kind of superclass point of view. As a characteristic example, one might offer the following lecture by Shternberg to the Gilyak upon their electing their judge: "A judge should be impartial to rich and poor, friend and foe, he must judge conscientiously" (3). But the facts of

/xviii cont./

exploitation among the Gilyak could nonetheless not have escaped even Shternberg, to which the following entry in one of his diaries bears witness: "These (Gilyak) kulaks exploit no less than the civilized ones" (4). We would look in vain, however, in his printed works for an exposition of how class differentiation and exploitation occur in the disintegrating clan society of the Gilyak. Moreover, an idealization of Gilyak society runs through all his works. Thus, in describing the Gilyak rich men (ysi), he says: what is the yz' if not that very same whole individual in his highest manifestation of individuality. The influence of the yz' is therefore purely /xix/ virtual, moral; there is no gulf between him and the poorest of his clansmen, either spiritually or economically, and at the same time the fraternal tie of the religious-social union of the clan dominates over all.

Well-known to us are the ridiculous attempts of the subjectivists to interpret Marxism as "economic materialism," as if it rejected all other aspects of social life except the economic aspect, in spite of the absolutely definite instructions of the founders of Marxism that there is no such automatic action of the economic situation as is sometimes imagined. Marxism does not reject the various aspects of social life, much less their interrelations, but shows that, in the final analysis, the decisive relationships are the economic ones. Finding the views of the Marxists one-sided, the subjective sociologists advanced their own theory about the interaction of these factors, not understanding that the interaction by itself explained nothing, but on the contrary required an explanation with the help of an objective criterion, which could only be the economic structure of society.

*114 [113] 3. Diary of the first trip to the Gilyak in February, 1891 (ms.).

[113] 4. Diary of the trip to the eastern Gilyak in June, 1891 (ms.).

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*114 Shternberg in his works summons us as well to pluralism, to the examination of various aspects of social life in their equivalent relationship.

An inability to distinguish between the important and the unimportant phenomena in the development of society, and an inability to find an objective criterion, represents the root of subjectivism in sociology.

One must also note the methodical, completely unjust way in which the subjective sociologists, including Shternberg, biologize a number of social phenomena. Thus, frequently in his works we can find "instinct for sympathy," "the necessity for co-operation," etc. This is particularly noticeable in the realm of the interpretation of religious phenomena. Thus, in his manuscript lectures on "The Evolution of Religious Beliefs," he defines religion as "one of the forms of the struggle for existence, in those realms where ordinary means are not applicable." Lenin is completely right when he points out that "there is nothing easier than to stick an 'energetics' or 'biologico-socialistic' label on phenomena of the nature of the crises of revolutions, the struggles of classes, and so forth. But there is nothing more fruitless, scholastic, dead, than this activity." The exploitational essence of religion has been castrated without a trace from Shternberg's definition of religion. In addition, that /xx/ definition allows Shternberg ultimately to make no dividing line between religion and philosophy. Thus, in an unfinished variant on animism, he writes: "With the growth of knowledge, when the consciousness of man's dependence on forces which he does not understand weakens... religion more and more loses its power and relinquishes its place to pure speculation. To the man who has freed himself from the elementary, crudest burdens of the struggle for existence, there still remains the most painful aspect of his existence, anguish about eternity, grief over inevitable suffering, crowned with the mystery of death. He must have peace... not the peace which people have been accustomed to receiving from the practice of religion for thousands of years, but an inner peace, no matter at what cost it is obtained. And philosophy tries to give him that peace by those means of which

/xx cont./

*114 it is capable. Whatever these answers, be it manful agnosticism, be it inconsolable pantheism, be it active bonne mine au mauvais jeu passimism /passimism to put a good face on matters/, be it materialism or spiritualism, any answer for many and for a long time will be better than a riddle in no way solvable. Thus, philosophy in this sense fully complies with our definition of religion, for it tries to facilitate human existence in those realms where the ordinary means of the struggle for existence are impotent."

Finally, it is necessary to note that the subjective school in sociology did not limit itself in its views to philosophical monism. The subjectivists allowed themselves "to take good from everywhere." Therefore they considered it just in their works to utilize other methods besides the subjective one, in such a way, however, "that the highest control in sociology would belong to the subjective one." It is clear, that limitless expanses were thereby opened to eclecticism. All the basic theoretical constructs of Shternberg suffer from eclecticism.

For an exhaustive understanding of the views of Shternberg, however, it is also necessary to consider that he was not only a subjective sociologist, but also an outstanding representative of the so-called classical school in ethnology (more precisely -- psychologico-evolutionist movement in sociology) founded by Bastian, Tylor, and others. Shternberg's ethnographic study presents a unique combination of subjective-sociological and psychologico-evolutionist aims. Such a combination was all the easier for Shternberg because the point of departure for both schools was human psychics.

/xxi/ Shternberg's definition of ethnography as "the science of humanity and culture" follows from his position on society. In a more detailed form, this definition looks like this: "Ethnography is a science studying... human culture, and not the culture of only the so-called savages, but the culture of all peoples, and, on the basis of the comparison of these various cultures, constructing the picture and the laws of evolution of human culture in general." "And only someone," adds Shternberg further," who has mastered the theoretical foundations of ethnography is in a position to study

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*114 the cultures of separate peoples, at whatever degree of development they stand" (1). "The sociology of peoples," in the words of

[113]

1. Etnografiia i narodnoe khoziaistvo /Ethnography and the National Economy/" (ms.).

Shternberg, "although it claims independent significance, when we scrutinize the circle of phenomena treated by it, it begins to seem to us that it does not constitute a science separate from ethnography" (2).

2. Ibid.

For us such a definition of ethnography is absolutely unacceptable, for in the view of Shternberg ethnography is transformed into sociology, and as such counterposes itself to historical materialism, the only scientific sociology.

In his definition of ethnography, Shternberg briefly expresses his views on culture and its evolution as well.

It is particularly necessary to note the views of Shternberg on culture as an object of ethnographic study. "Culture," says Shternberg, "is the sum of all the values created by man himself, by his intellect. From the psychological point of view, it is the product of individual discoveries and inventions, from the dynamic -- the product of the gradual accumulation of these inventions by all past generations. Culture is not the biological, but the social heritage of past generations, and therefore the level of culture depends exclusively on the number of inherited inventions and discoveries, and not on the evolution of the physical nature of man himself. We must consider as genuine cultural values only the discoveries and inventions in the form of knowledge and skills, but not those material objects in which they take form from time to time."

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*114 Obviously, the idealistic essence of Shternberg's views on culture is set forth here, and therefore it need not be considered in more detail.

Shternberg, like the rest of the evolutionists, and also the subjective sociologists, regarded /xxii/ the dialectical method negatively, ascribing to Marxism the unoriginal application of the Hegelian triads, not understanding that "the dialectal method... is what Marx and Engels called nothing other than a scientific method in sociology, by which society is examined as a living organism in constant motion... for the study of which there must be an objective analysis of the relations of production which forms the given social formation, the study of the laws of its functioning and development" (1).

Shternberg considered it possible to limit himself merely to the application of the comparative method when studying social phenomena. The prevailing significance which he attributed to this method found vivid expression in his definition of ethnography as a science given above. In this connection, it is relevant to cite the words of Hegel on the relative significance of the comparative method. Considering an outline of several significant successes attained by comparative anatomy and comparative linguistics, Hegel says: "In spite of this, however, we must not only note that scientists have gone too far in supposing that this comparative method may be applied with equal success in all realms of knowledge, but we must especially stress as well that comparison by itself cannot give full satisfaction to scientific demands and that the results obtained by this method must be examined as merely preparatory, albeit essential works for a genuinely comprehensive knowledge" (2). And this is so, for by means of the comparative

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1. Lenin, op. cit., p. 93.

2. "Entsiklopediia filosofskikh nauk /Encyclopedia of Philosophical Sciences/," Works of Hegel /cited in Russian/, Part I, Vol. I, Moscow-Leningrad, 1929, pp. 200-201.

/xxii/cont./

*114 method it is impossible to uncover the essence of phenomena.

Shternberg's views on the development of culture are of considerable interest. "As a result of our comparative study of culture," he says, "ethnography leads us to the conclusion that the creative work of culture has proceeded, everywhere and always, according to the same laws, that human psychics are united in their creative work, that human culture is just as united as its creator -- humanity as a whole, and that all distinctions in culture are the result, not of psychic distinctions, but of distinctions in the geographical and historical conditions, purely external and of a changeable character." "The ideal of culture is collective creative work and the equal distribution of cultural values. Every culture has /xxiii/ a tendency toward distribution: the ultimate goal is universalism and the unity of human culture" (1).

[113] 1. "Vvedenie v etnografiiu /Introduction to Ethnography/" (ms.).

This aim gave him the opportunity to wage a decisive struggle with the race theory in ethnology, maintaining the inequality of different races and peoples. On the other hand, in a number of cases precisely this aim allowed Shternberg to explain different social phenomena, to approach the point of view of dialectical materialism.

As the most eminent representative of the evolutionary school in Russia, Shternberg waged a battle with the reactionary culture-historical school, headed by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers, against its theory of diffusion (cultural borrowings), culture circles, and the existence of monotheism, individual marriage, and private property from the beginning. Speaking about Father, now Cardinal, W. Schmidt and his culture-historical views, Shternberg points out that "for many years he (Schmidt) has tendentiously propagandized these views in his influential journal, Anthropos, which, due to extensive means of publication, has been able to attract the collaboration of very outstanding ethnologists

*114 /xxiii cont./
as well as a large number of researcher-missionaries (2).

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2. "Sovremennaia etnografiia /Contemporary Ethnography/," in the periodical, Etnografiia, Nos. 1-2, pp. 24-25, Moscow-Leningrad, 1926.

It would not be out of place to mention that, while staunchly defending his philosophical-evolutionalist aims, Shternberg waged a battle with the fashionable bourgeois theories of Marett (on preanimism), Levy Brühl (on prelogical thought), Freud (on the sexual basis of all social phenomena), etc. In this respect his materials have significant value even today.

Nevertheless we must consider as the most important aspect of the scientific work of Shternberg that he was one of the most prominent followers of the famous American ethnologist, L. Morgan, who rediscovered, in the words of Engels, the materialistic understanding of history. Shternberg reinforced and developed Morgan's theory with his remarkable discoveries of the classificatory system of kinship and group marriage among the peoples of the Far East, as well as with a number of his investigations in the realm of prehistory. As a Morganist, Shternberg was noticed even by Engels, who translated into German an account of one of his works and wrote him a personal letter, with which we shall deal later.

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III.

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Having briefly acquainted ourselves with the theoretical views of L. IA. Shternberg and proceeding to a survey of his works on the study of the peoples of the Far East, it is necessary first of all to point out that to submit all these works to a detailed, critical examination is not permitted by the scope of the present article, and we shall consider only the most important features.

/xxiv cont./

113 Not all the works by Shternberg on the Far East have been published, and what has appeared is scattered through many journals and collections which are difficult to obtain at this time. Only the present edition, undertaken and executed on the initiative of the Community of the Far East, offers one the opportunity to become acquainted with Shternberg's most important works on the peoples of the Far East, including some manuscripts published for the first time.

The basic works of Shternberg on the ethnography of the Far East are: 1) "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bk. 2, Moscow, 1893); 2) "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva / The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" (a summary in the weekly Vladivostok, Nos. 47, 48, 50, and 51, 1896); 3) "Giliaki /The Gilyak/" (Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie, Bks. 60, 61, and 63, 1904; reprint, Moscow, 1905); 4) "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" (Ezhegodnik Russkogo Antropologicheskogo Obshchestva pri Peterburgskom Universitete, St. Petersburg, 1908); 5) "The Turano-Ganowanian System and the nations of the Nord-East Asia" (Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912); 6) "Divine election in primitive religions" (Proceedings of the XXV International Congress of Americanists, 1925; the Russian supplementary edition under the title, "Izbrannichestvo v religii /Election in Religion/," printed in Etnografiia, No. 1, 1927); 7) "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" (posthumous work, printed in the Sbornik Muzeia Antropologii i Etnografii Akademii Nauk, Vol. VIII, Leningrad, 1929). Of these works, the following are not printed in the present edition: "The Turano-Ganowanian System" and "Izbrannichestvo v religii." Printed for the first time, however, are "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov /The Social Organization of the Gilyak/," "Gol'dy /The Goldi/" (unfinished account of the expedition of 1910) /untranslated/, and "Klassifikatsiia narodof Dal'nego Vostoka /The Classification of the Peoples of the Far East/."

/xxiv cont./

113 On the languages of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg has published the following works: 1) "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i fol'klora /Samples of Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/" (Izvestiia Akademii Nauk, Vol. XIII, No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1900); 2) "Bemerkungen über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen /Remarks on the Relation between the Morphology of the Gilyak and American Languages/" /xxv/ (XIV Internationaler Amerikanisher Congress, Stuttgart, 1904); 3) Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo fol'klora i yazyka /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, Vol. I, Part 1 (publication of the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1908). The remaining unprinted materials on the Gilyak language and folklore are supposed to be published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The following materials on the Tungus-Manchu languages from the linguistic legacy of Shternberg are printed in the present edition /but are not translated/: 1) "Orochskii etnograficheskii slovar' /Orochi Ethnographic Dictionary/," 2) "Gol'dskii etnograficheskii slovar' /The Goldi Ethnographic Dictionary/," with a grammatical note, 3) "Negidal'skii etnograficheskii slovar' /Negidal Ethnographic Dictionary/," 4) "Grammaticheskie zametki po negidal'skomu iazyku /Grammatical Notes on the Negidal Language/."

*114 From the description of the trips of L. IA Shternberg that we gave in the first section, we see that he carried out the greater part of his field research among the Gilyak, and accordingly his primary printed works on the ethnography and linguistics of the Far East are devoted to precisely that nationality.

113 The works of Shternberg on the Gilyak fall into two groups:
*114 one of them is devoted to questions on social structure and religious beliefs, the other to folklore and language. Of the works of the first group, the primary ones are: "Sakhalinskie giliaki," "Giliaki," "Turano-ganovanskaia sistema i narody severo-vostochnoi Azii" (1).

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1. Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of the Americanists, London, 1912.

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* 114 and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov" now appearing in print for
113 the first time. In the first of the works listed, we find, in embryo, as it were, all that is given by him later in a more profound and exhaustive form in the remainder of the works listed.

* 114 One must note, in particular, that in the first sketch,
113 written in 1891, i.e., as a result of a comparatively brief period
595 of observation, there is already a completely clear description of the group marriage and classificatory system of kinship discovered by him, and of the basic features of their clan structure, etc. Shternberg succeeded in sending the manuscript of this work to Moscow at the time, where it was first read in the form of a paper for the Society for the Study of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography (the tenth of October, 1892) by the secretary of the society, N. IA. IAnchuk. Just a few days after the paper, an account with a rather detailed exposition of Chapters I and II of the manuscript appeared in *Russkie vedomosti*. The novelty and the great theoretical significance of the material attracted widespread attention in scientific circles interested in the history of primitive society. /xxvi/ Friedrick Engels took an interest in this work as well; he was closely following Russian political and socio-scientific literature, and he published in *Die Neue Zeit* (XI Jahrgang, B. I, 1893) a complete translation of the newspaper account of the work of Shternberg, with his own introductory comments, under the title "Ein neuentdeckter Fall in der Geschichte der Ehe /A Newly Discovered Case in the History of Marriage/" (1). F. Engels attributed

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1. This article by Engels did not appear in Russian until 1922 in the appendix to Engels' book, *Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti i gosudarstvo* /The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State/, pp. 123-125, published by "Moskovskii rabochii" /The Moscow Worker/ in "Biblioteka kommunista" /The Library of the Communist/.

/xxvi cont./

*114 especially great significance to the confirmation of the existence
595 of group marriage in the Gilyak material. In view of the tremen-
[113] dous methodological significance, we present these remarks by Engels in full. "In recent times," he writes, "among certain rationalistic ethnographers, it has once again become fashionable to reject the existence of group marriage. Therefore the following account, which I translate from Russkie vedomosti (Moscow, the fourteenth of October, 1892, Old Style), is of great interest. It not only explicitly confirms the existence of group marriage, i.e., the right to mutual sexual intercourse between a certain group of men and group of women, but it gives an example of a form of it which closely borders upon the punalua marriage of the Hawaiians, i.e., the most developed classical form of group marriage. While the typical punalua family consists of a number of brothers (uterine or more distantly related) who are in marital cohabitation with a certain number of uterine or more distantly related sisters, we see on Sakhalin Island that a man is married to all the wives of his brothers and all the sisters of his wife, and this means, if we examine this phenomenon from the female point of view, that his wife has the right to sexual intercourse with the brothers of her husband and the husbands of her sisters. The distinction from the typical form of the punalua marriage is therefore only that the brothers of the husband and the husbands of the sisters are not necessarily the same people. I must note that this case confirms what I wrote in Proiskhozhdenie sem'i /The Origin of the Family/, 4th ed., pp. 28-29: "This group marriage hardly looks as terrible as the imagination of our Philistines, accustomed to prostitution and brothels, pictures it." "The savages living in group marriage certainly do not lead the dissipated life that these Philistines lead under the cover of secrecy.

/xxvii/ "This form of marriage (at least in the cases still met in practice) differs from a free pair-marriage or polygamy only in that sexual intercourse is permitted by morals in a number of cases which, under different conditions, involve stern punishment.
[178] The fact that the exercise of these rights is dying out in practice proves only that this form of marriage itself was long ago condemned to die out, as is confirmed by the infrequency of the traces of its existence."

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*114 595 "Furthermore, the whole matter is interesting in that it once again shows how similar or even identical the institutions of such primitive peoples at almost the same level of development are in their basic features. A large part of what is related in this account on Sakhalin is fully applicable to the Dravidian tribes of India, the inhabitants of the Pacific Islands, and, at the time of their discovery, the redskins."

*114 In conclusion Engels gives in full the translation of the newspaper account of Shternberg's article. Regarding the material uncovered from the newspaper account, F. Engels wrote L. IA. Shternberg a letter, as the latter told me in a private conversation. Unfortunately, the search for this letter, undertaken in the archives [113] of Shternberg, has as yet yielded no results. "Sakhalinskie giliaki" appeared in print in full in the journal Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie for 1893. In this work by Shternberg the strong influence of Engels' book, Proiskhozhdenie sem'i, chastnoi sobstvennosti, i gosudarstva, is felt. Engels' influence neutralized to a significant degree the psychological approach of Shternberg, and "Sakhalinskie giliaki" is undoubtedly the most materialistic work to come from his pen.

*114 601 595 Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship, which, furthermore, preserved certain terms lost in less primitive systems, strikingly confirmed the views of Engels, who looked on group marriage as an explicit, universal step in the history of marriage, and on the classificatory system as a true indicator of the sexual norms that formerly existed. [171] The classificatory system of kinship among the Gilyak described by Shternberg turned out to be similar to the Turano-Ganowanian ~~in type.~~ Furthermore, "it is the best example of the Turanian system," says Shternberg himself, "besides being *114 the best preserved and giving the best correlation (1). With this

1. "The Turano-Ganowanian System," p. 323.

/xxviii/ discovery Shternberg filled in the gap in the scientific literature on primitive social relations, for which there were no

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

G /xxviii cont./

*114 data whatsoever on the social structure and sexual norms among the Amur peoples. Morgan did not have these data, and he only guessed about the existence of a classificatory system among the Amur peoples as an intermediate link between the peoples of India and of North America.

Up to the present day there is no mention of these discoveries by Shternberg from the supporters of the clerical, historico-cultural school (ardent opponents of Marxism and the theory of Morgan), because they irrevocably, with a living example, prove the existence of group marriage, so unpleasant to the Catholic Fathers who maintain the existence of individual marriage, private property, and monotheism from the beginning.

G [122] As has already been indicated above, while compiling "Sakhalinskie giliaki" Shternberg did not have the opportunity to acquaint himself with the basic literature on the peoples of the Far East, and some unfortunate inaccuracies crept into his work; thus, in complete error he writes, evidently following an oral tale of the Gi T [197] Russian population, "that the Gilyak of the lower Amur speak the same language as the Tungus." Actually it is not the Gilyak who are under discussion here, but the Ulcha (Olcha), who have a language close to the Tungus. T [101] Furthermore, we must consider that he called the Sakhalin Orok Orochon, agreeing with the local Russian name.

The monograph "Giliaki" and "Sotsial'naia organizatsiia giliakov," the broadened and deepened edition of the third chapter of "Giliak," were written by Shternberg after his return from exile. While compiling these works Shternberg had all the basic literature at hand, and the questions investigated by him are worked out very thoroughly. In these works there are uncovered a number of new aspects of the social structure of the Gilyak, which Shternberg successfully compares with the Australian materials and partially aids in their elucidation. But both these works, unlike "Sakhalinskie giliaki" and "Orochi," like all the other works of Shternberg after his exile, bear a more distinctly expressed idealistic character.

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*114 582 595 The question of cousin marriage is developed particularly assiduously in these works. In this respect, Shternberg enriched the history of marriage with valuable material, very shrewdly analyzed by him. When Shternberg tries to extract cousin marriage from group marriage, however, he contradicts /xxix/ himself and takes an anti-Morgan and at the same time anti-Engels position. To accept the proposition that cousin marriage preceded group marriage logically leads to the conclusion that individual marriage preceded cousin marriage. The reasoning of Shternberg on the causes for the transition from marriage between sisters and brothers to cousin marriage is just as completely idealistic.

Shternberg revealed the clan character of the group marriage of the Gilyak with great thoroughness and, in addition, established the principles of the third- and fourth-clan phratry. Indisputably, the conclusions of Shternberg about the precedence of cross-cousin marriage to unilateral-cousin marriage are correct.

*114 602 595 [174] Shternberg's discovery among the Gilyak of the institution of izbeganiya (avoidance), according to which people not having mutual sexual rights must avoid mutual glances, conversations, and so forth, also has extremely great importance for confirming the existence of group marriage. He considers the survival of this institution among peoples who have already emerged from the stage of group marriage as extra proof of its previous existence.

*114 614 Further, the works of Shternberg give a vivid picture of the clan way of life of the Gilyak and of the basic norms of their common law. By the way, in speaking of the clan, one must stress the correctness of Shternberg's criticism of Kunov, who, in spite of Engels, rejected the existence of a clan structure among the Australians.

*114 614 556 Shternberg considers in some detail the khlai-ni-vukhakh and quite correctly explains that they are recruited from the yzi (wealthy men), but we wait in vain for an answer from him on the question of the reasons for the degeneration of the clan and the appearance of the yzi. At the same time it must be said that the fact of the existence of the wealthy men among contemporary, so-called primitive peoples, and especially their social role, has been treated with silence in ethnographic literature, and Shternberg was one of the few non-Marxist ethnographers who paid attention TO IT.

/xxix cont./
000 to it. In spite of the fact, however, that the material presented by
*114 Shternberg convincingly testifies to the rudiments of class differentia-
565 tion among the Gilyak, he did not discover this, because he looked
through the spectacles of the Populists and saw in the appearance of
class differentiation the manifestation, not of the immanent eco-
nomic laws of every society, but merely the effect on the Gilyak
of their neighbors -- the Russians.

*114 A significant part of the monograph is devoted to the re-
771 ligion of the Gilyak. /xxx/ Here the conceptions of Shternberg
614 about the masters, first stated by him in "Sakhalinskie giliaki,"
are unwound in all their breadth. "Each element has its 'master'
[776] who is a 'god,' but, just as in each clan there are outstanding
persons, wealthy men, of whom one is the richest ('the master,' ac-
cording to the everyday terminology of the Gilyak), so are there
'masters' among the spirits, who, according to the beliefs of the
Gilyak, also live in clans. With this concept Shternberg stresses
the reflection of the social structure in the religious views. The
views of Shternberg on the relationship of totemism to clan society
also deserves attention. According to Shternberg, "... it was not
totemism, i.e., not belief in descent from one or another form of
animal, that created the clan gods, which is the accepted way of
thinking, but the other way around: the clan gods created totemism.
[262] One cannot explain the interdictions among the totemists against
using the meat of totems in their food by anything except a fear
of killing some kind of clansman turned into a totem animal."

*114 Shternberg contests the opinion that fear created god and
[771] advances his own understanding that the cult of a number of ani-
[825] mals (e.g., the bear and swallow) is caused by their seemingly
protective relationship to man.

[756] In "Giliaki" Shternberg also, for the first time, formed his
opinion that the shaman is divinely selected.

*114 "Obraztsy materialof po izucheniiu giliatskogo yazyka i
197 fol'klora" and Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora
constitute the second group of Shternberg's works on the study of the
Gilyak; included here also is the summary of a paper at the
Fourteenth Congress of Americanists in Stuttgart, "Bemerkungen

G /xxx cont./
*114 [197] über die Beziehung zwischen der Morphologie der giljakischen und amerikanischen Sprachen," where he proves a grammatical similarity of the Gilyak language with certain languages of the American Indians. The published data on Gilyak folklore and language constitute only a part of the material collected by him. During his lifetime he did not intend to publish a Gilyak grammar, dictionary, and supplemantary folklore material, but what he did publish on the study of this exceptionally difficult language, along with the discoveries cited above on the study of the clan and family structure of the Gilyak, is so significant that in the history of ethnology and linguistics Shternberg rightfully continues to be known as a great Gilyak specialist and the first serious researcher and expert on the Gilyak language.

Gi 114 /xxxi/ The next realm of work by Shternberg as a Far Eastern ethnologist was the study of the Tungusic-Manchu peoples. Of the indigenous population of the Amur region, he first of all studied the Orochi of Tatar Strait. Although he spared them only one month, he also succeeded in making a number of important observations and discoveries here, which he published in the article "Orochi Tatarskogo proliva" /The Orochi of Tatar Strait/" and which appears in full only in the present edition /untranslated/. Gi [595] [601] Among the Orochi, too, he found group marriage and a classificatory system of kinship (this system, by the way, corresponded in the main to the Goldi and Tungus system); he uncovered features in their marital norms, however, which indicated an earlier stage in comparison to the Gilyak. Gi [582] Namely, there still existed here the right to marriage and sexual intercourse between separate categories of people of both the ascending and of the descending generations indiscriminately, which served as special support for the truth of the Morgan theory and gave Shternberg irrevocable arguments for his criticism of the anti-Morgan theory of Kautsky, who maintained that a classificatory system of kinship served merely for naming the generations and that, consequently, it certainly did not testify to the presence of group marriage.

Further, for the first time in ethnographic literature, a description of the Orochi clan was given in this work. We must mention here, however, that the definition of a clan as "a kinship-religious union, within which marriage and sexual intercourse are

/xxxi cont./
114 not permitted," is completely inadequate, for it does not reveal the economic structure of clan society.

Of the many materials collected by Shternberg on the re-
114 ligion and shamanism of the Orochi, the most interesting is the
177 indication that the idea of the supreme divinity of Enduri was
771 borrowed by them from their more cultured neighbors, the Manchu
and the Chinese, through the Goldi. "What they did not have in their social life," says Shternberg, "namely, supreme power, they (the Orochi) could not introduce into the world of the gods. But it was done, the idea has already become established among them... but it was not their idea, and up to the present time it stands alone in their system of gods."

Shternberg pays particular attention in this work to eluci-
114 dating the self-designation of the Orochi and refuting the opinion
101 of Schrenck on the origin of the term Orochi. The term nani
174 ascertained by him turned out to be common to a whole group of
Amur tribes -- Orochi, Goldi, and Orok -- and convinced him that these tribes were of a common origin. Depending on his own /xxxii/ data, Shternberg, to counterbalance Schrenck, advanced a hypothesis about the coming of the Orochi into their present place of habitation from the north. The hypothesis of Shternberg quite convincingly shows the reindeer-breeding past of the Orochi, but it is completely inapplicable to the elucidation of the history of the economy of the Ude, whom Shternberg then incorrectly identified with the Orochi, in spite of the fact that the Ude have a different language and forms of economy. All the data on the Ude now available yield negative material with regard to their reindeer-breeding past.

The next work of Shternberg on the Tungusic-Manchu nationalities "Gol'dy," is an unfinished account of his expedition of 1910 to the Amur. The question raised by Shternberg about
[127] the pre-Goldi population of the Amur is of great interest. For the
illumination of this question he turned to folklore materials for the first time. The material collected by Shternberg allows us to consider the Kha (the name of the pre-Goldi population of the Amur) Dyucher, with regard to whom there is sufficient historical data about their living on the Amur in the seventeenth century.

Gi /xxxii cont./

114 101 My materials also confirm that the Kha were Dyucher, or, as the Goldi called them, Irgen' (inhabitant), which in Manchu means people not having any military obligations. Consequently, the Dyucher were an unpriviledged part of the Manchu people.

Gi [614] Speaking of the composition and history of the Goldi clans, Shternberg ascertains that, in spite of the similarity of self-designation, language, customs, religious views, etc., the Goldi are a conglomerate of clans of the most varied origin and that the formation of this conglomerate took place through the constant influx of newcomers from other tribes. Shternberg gives too much importance to the biological features and therefore pays no attention whatsoever to the economic premises of the formation of the Goldi nationality. Our materials allow us to judge that the majority of the Goldi are former reindeer-breeders who settled on the Amur and under the influence of the local conditions replaced reindeer-breeding with fishing and dog-breeding. In accordance with the change in the economic way of life, the Tungus language and religious beliefs of the nomadic reindeer-breeders were replaced by the language and religion of fishermen.

Gi 114 The description of the institution of dzhangini (judges) discovered by him among the Goldi and even earlier among the Orochi is also of great interest.

The third work on the Tungus peoples is /xxxiii/"Klassifikatsiia i nomenklatura korrenogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification and nomenclature of the indigenous population of the Amur region/." It consists of two chapters -- classification and nomenclature. The first chapter was fully finished by Shternberg, but of the second chapter he succeeded in writing only the section on the Orok. From the diaries and other manuscripts, it was possible to make and extract notes of ethnonymic significance, from which were compiled the supplementary sections on the Olcha, Orok, and Goldi.

Gi 114 101 In their time the materials on classification would have had great significance for the correction of the Schrenck classification. At the present time they have only historical significance (1). The

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1. Upon acquaintance with the classification

1: Shternberg--29 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak
Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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> of Shternberg, the contemporary classification of the Tungusic-Manchu tribes made by the author of the present article must be taken into consideration: 1. Tungusic or Northern Group: a) Evenki -- Tungus proper (Tungus, Orochon, Manegir, Solon, Birar); b) Even -- Lamut (Kamchat and Okhot Orochon, Orochon, North-Yakut Lamut), Elkambeie -- Negidal (Amgun). 2. Manchurian or Southern Group: a) Manchu proper; b) Nanai -- Goldi (Khodzeny, Samagir, Kile); c) Nanai -- Ulcha (Olcha, Orok); d) Nani (Orochi), e) Ude (Kiakary).

ethnonymic materials have not lost their significance even now. It is particularly important that Shternberg succeeded in explaining that Ngatku is the Negidal name for the Manchu tribes with the front part of the forehead unshaven (consequently, the Olcha and the lower Goldi), and Goldi is the name for the tribes with the front part of the forehead shaven, which was a sign of Manchu citizenship (the upper Goldi). It has great significance for the interpretation of the Cossack accounts of the conquest of the Amur region. It should also be pointed out that here Shternberg was the first to explain correctly the name Olcha (Ulcha), constructing it from the Olcha word ulya -- reindeer.

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The dictionaries published here of the Orochi, Goldi, and Negidal languages /untranslated/ give a rather significant number of technical, social, and religious terms, and the note on the Negidal language /untranslated/ is the first grammatical survey in linguistic literature of this little-investigated language.

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Thus, we see that in the realm of the study of the Tungusic-Manchu tribes not a little has been done by Shternberg, and he is rightfully considered, after Schrenck, the most authoritative Tungus specialist, in spite of the fact that he worked over only a small part of his extensive materials collected on these nationalities.

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

T 114 /xxxiii cont./
His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

A 114 G [114] Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonetheless succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological, archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized. A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

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*114 Shternberg played a very notable role in the ethnographic study of the Far East, both as an organizer and a pedagogue. For many years he actually ran the Museum of Ethnography and Anthropology of the Academy of Sciences, and thanks to him and his co-workers and students the museum prospered, especially with the Far Eastern collections, to say nothing of the fact that under his administration the museum /xxxv/ gained its international significance. Furthermore, Shternberg organized the Ethnography Department of the Geographic Institute (which later became the Ethnography Section of the Leningrad State University), which he ran from the day of its founding until his death and which produced a number of researchers and practical workers among the culturally backward peoples of the USSR, including those among the peoples of the Far East.

The works of Shternberg not printed in this edition are of considerable interest from the point of view of general theory. In addition to their significance for the history of preclass society and for the corroboration of Morgan's theory (adopted in a "copied" form by Marx and Engels), about which we spoke earlier, they help in the struggle against the reactionary culture-historical school in ethnology, against its ideas of the existence of monotheism, private property, and individual marriage from the beginning, against the anti-Marxist aims of Kautsky and Kunov in the realm of the history of preclass society, and against the enthusiasm of the Levy Brühl theory of prelogical thought and the Marett theory of preanimism.

We must not for a moment, however, lose sight of the fact that Shternberg maintained idealistic positions in the realm of the study of social phenomena, extracting the laws of the development of society from the development of human psychics. Our task is the discovery of the methodological poverty of the theoretical general views of Shternberg, who gives us an incorrect understanding of the causes and process of the development of human society, who ignores the question of the origin of classes and idealizes primitive society. The works of Shternberg and the valuable material included in them can be used only in a form that has been subjected to criticism.

The works of Shternberg also have great significance in a practical sense. At the present time, when the socialistic advance is taking place along the whole front and even the most backward, northern outlying districts of our vast land are being rebuilt along

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*114 socialist lines, when there is a flowering of national cultures unseen in history, we have a great need for works which can give us data about one or another aspect of these national cultures. In this respect the works of Shternberg come to meet us. We find in them a careful description of the clan structure of the peoples of the Far East, which may be used in our struggle /xxxvi/ for the speediest liquidation of the survivals of the patriarchal clan as one of the basic hinderances to the building of socialism in the outlying districts. We find in them detailed material about shamanism, which can be put to use in our antireligious work. We also find in *them a description of common law and the role of the* dzhangini (judges), which can serve us as material in the struggle for the uprooting of common law and its replacement by soviet law. Finally, the data on marital relations can be used with success in the work of the emancipation of the women among the peoples of the north.

Of course, at the same time we must pay tribute to the fundamental changes wrought by the proletarian revolution among the peoples of the north. From the "natives" who were oppressed and dying out under Tsarism, they have become equal builders of socialism; from "unhistorical" peoples, they have become historical peoples.

In the territory of the peoples of the north, national okrugs, rayons, and soviets have been created, a mighty wave of industrial co-operation has been unleashed, state farms are being built, a stubborn battle is being waged against the kulaks, the shamans, and the patriarchal-clan survivals, cultural bases have occupied the sites of Tsarist jails, a school and hospital network has spread out, technical schools have been created in the provinces, as well as the Institute of the Peoples of the North TSIK USSR in Leningrad for the preparation of cadres of the medium and higher level from among the peoples of the north themselves, a cultural march has been initiated for the liquidation of illiteracy, writing has been created and is developing in fourteen northern languages, and great work is being carried on with regard to alleviating the burden and way of life of the woman of the north.

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*114 Our entire country is straining every effort consistent with the Lenin national policy to help the culturally backward peoples of the USSR to overcome their backwardness, which has been centuries in forming, to help them to catch up with the most cultured peoples of the Union, to contribute to the direct transition of their disintegrating clan society to a socialist society, passing over the capitalistic stage. And the works of Shternberg printed here, with a certain critical approach to their methodology, indubitably offer, we repeat, very valuable material for our workers in this field.

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128 The present collection of works by Shternberg, with the exception of the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketches "Sakhalinskie gilyaki," "Orochi," "Ainskaia problema," "Kul't inau," and "Programmy po sobraniiu etnograficheskikh svedenii /Programs on the Collection of Ethnographic Information/," appears in print for the first time.

It is necessary to give some special explanation with regard to these works. The end of the article, "Klassifikatsiia korennogo naseleniia Amurskogo kraia /The Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region/," specifically, that part dealing with the nomenclature of these peoples, was reconstructed by V. I. Tsintsius (1) from rough drafts by Shternberg found in his archives.

1. Docent of the Leningrad Historico-Linguistic Institute and a scientific co-worker of the Institute of the Peoples of the North (of the INS).

The end of the sketch "Gol'dy," offering an account of the expedition of 1910, was likewise not found in the archives, and that gap is compensated for, to a certain degree, by "Otdel'nye materialy po etnografii gol'dov /Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Gol'di/," dug up from the archives by V. Tsintsius.

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128 V. I. Tsintsius has also extracted from the archives systematized, separate materials, ethnographic, linguistic, and in part grammatical, on the Goldi, Orochi, and Negidal, and in the selection of the Negidal materials, another one of Shternberg's students took part, K. M. Myl'nikova (2). "Otdel'nye materialy po giliakam /Separate Materials on the Gilyak/" were selected by S. A. Ratner-Shternberg (3) from the notebooks of the author and other travel notes by him from the nineties of the last century and 1910 and were systematized by her; the style of the notes, the transcription of the non-native words, and, where it was possible to determine them, the dates cited are observed as far as possible.

The transcription of the Gilyak words and texts were checked by one of Shternberg's students in Gilyak studies, IU. A. Kreinovich (4).

The anthropological materials were worked over by G. I. Petrov (5).

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2. Researcher on the Negidal and Lamut.

3. Ethnographer of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

4. Researcher on the Gilyak, scientific co-worker of the INS.

5. Former scientific co-worker of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, now head scientific co-worker of the Acad. of Mater. Culture in Leningrad.

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128 With regard to "Otdel'nye materialy," for both the Tungus and the Gilyak, we must state that there might be data in them which were hastily thrown in during Shternberg's field work and, upon future examination by him, might have been deleted or corrected, but to clarify such instances, if they occur at all, is unfortunately, impossible.

104 As for the transcription of the Gilyak and Tungus-Manchu words, in agreement with the above-named co-workers -- linguists, we have adopted a Latinized transcription, preserving, however, some Russian letters, namely, ж . з . x, ч . ш /transliterated in the translation as zh, dz, kh, ch, and sh, respectively/, and departing somewhat from the signs generally accepted in modern linguistics for the expression of the length of vowels, softening of sounds, and so forth, in view of the technical obstacles in the typography of publishing. For the same reason it was necessary in the transcription of the Gilyak words, to omit a number of signs for the expression of certain phonetic nuances accepted by Shternberg in his "Obraztsakh po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Samples for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/." An explanation of the accepted transcription can be found below.

In the monograph "Giliaki" and the sketch "Sakhalinskie giliaki" published during the author's lifetime, the former transcription for Gilyak words is preserved. /HRAF ed.: The spelling of native terms in the original text is confusing, because letters from both the Russian and Latin alphabets have been used and they are not always distinguishable. In doubtful cases the letters have been transliterated as Russian, for which the transliteration system of the Board of Geographic Names (BGN) is used. Furthermore, the spelling of native terms varies from section to section in the original text, in part because of the use of the different alphabets, but sometimes inexplicably. In the following table, which has been slightly modified to avoid the use of the five Russian letters mentioned above, the Russian letter to which a given consonant corresponds is shown in the transliterated (BGN) form. The Library of Congress transliteration system is used for bibliographic references, and tribal names are spelled as they appear in the Outline of World Cultures./

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Explanation of the Transcription System for Tungusic-Manchu Words

I. Vowels

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a, e, i, o, u, y correspond to the Russian vowels a, э, и, o, y, ы

a:, e:, i:, o:, y: -- long vowels

a^n, e^n, i^n, etc. -- nasal vowels

á, é, í, etc. -- stressed vowels

II. Consonants

b	corresponds to Russian b	p	corresponds to Russian p
c	" " " ts	r	" " " r
d	" " " d	s	" " " s
f	" " " f	t	" " " t
g	" " " g	v	" " " labio-dental
h	" " German h as in the word habe	w	corresponds to English w
j	corresponds to German j	z	" " Russian z
k	" " Russian k	kh	" " " kh
l	" " West European l	sh	" " " sh
ℓ	" " Russian hard l	zh	" " " zh
m	corresponds to Russian m	ch	" " " voiceless affricative ch
n	" " " n		

dz -- voiced affricative dz.

dz: -- voiced affricative dzh.

ng -- velar n, pronounced together, like n in the German language.

r -- prounounced "r", analagous to the Ukrainian r.

r: = γ = deep velar Ukrainian r.

k: = $\check{k}$ = $\bar{k}$ = deep velar k.

kh: = $\check{\check{x}}$ = $\bar{x}$ = deep velar kh.

g: = $\check{\check{g}}$ = $\bar{g}$ = deep velar g.

ch: -- combined sibilant sounds chsh.

b´, d´, n´, etc. -- palatization.

'k, 'p, etc. -- aspiration.

/Page xl is blank./

1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus R45
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

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Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

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If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/ (the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

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These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

1: Shternberg--38 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin
Southeast Siberia RX1

G 101 144 /1 cont./

As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from T A G 131 197 the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. T 131 197 The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

T A G 121 184 Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

S T A G 121 These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

But on what basis are they to be classified?

S 121 433 Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

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121 433 group is made up of more or less settled tribes -- of fishermen-hunters, such as the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, Negidal, Samagir -- nationalities whose beast of burden at the present time is the dog instead of the reindeer. Furthermore, it would be necessary to extract a small group living predominantly in Manchuria and partly in Zabaikalye /Transbaikalia/, namely, some tribes of the Orochon, which, under the influence of the Chinese and Russians, have replaced the reindeer with the horse. But such a classification, no matter how important it is, /3/ would yield nothing either historically or linguistically, for the economic traits referred to are of a comparatively recent origin. Some of these nationalities have abandoned reindeer-breeding within the memory of the generation still living, while the remaining ones have vividly preserved the legend of an earlier reindeer-breeding way of life, abandoned for various reasons of an accidental nature (predominantly as a result of the death of the reindeer from epidemics).

121 197 114 The most reliable and pithy criterion would be, of course, a linguistic one; in other words, it would be most rationalistic of all to construct a classification on the basis of the similarity of the dialects, linguistically and morphologically. Unfortunately, the material collected up to the present time is still too insufficient for a fully reliable linguistic classification. For most of the dialects the material is not only insufficient and unscientific, but completely undependable as well for still another peculiar, purely specific-local reason, namely, because the collectors of the material took their notes most often from some single individual more or less familiar with the Russian language, without asking about the tribal origin of the individual.

121 167 Furthermore, the resettlement of separate families and even of clans or parts of them from the territory of one tribe into another is so common that the traveler can hardly tell whether he is dealing with an actual representative of a given tribe, and therefore with its dialect, or with some recent newcomer. During the censuses that I took, I had sufficient opportunity to be convinced that not only do the indigenous clans of a given tribe nowhere constitute a predominant majority, but, as strange as it seems, they are everywhere in the minority, besides which the processes

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121 167 [197] of emigration and immigration have not ceased up to the present time. This not only results in a mixture of lexical and morphological material in each vernacular, but it is possible that a large number of immigrant families preserve for several generations peculiarities of their earlier dialect.

114 121 197 Academician Schrenck, it is true, attempted in his time to construct a classification on a linguistic basis, but he had even less data for this than we have at the present time. Actually, it may be said about this classification that in one of its parts it is completely unfounded and contradicts reality, and in the other it is apparently unproved and simply prompted by the desire to substantiate /4/ certain of his historical suppositions, which, in turn, have very little to support them. Thus, without any grounds, Schrenck separated the language of the so-called Olcha, which is very close to the language of the Goldi and Orochi, from these last and joined it to the language of the Negidal, whose language indubitably most closely resembles the language of the Russian Tungus, which even Schrenck maintains. His entire argument in favor of the closeness of the languages of the Olcha and the Negidal amounts to the fact that the Samagir language, according to his observations, is similar to the Olcha, and he judges the closeness of the Negidal, with which, in his words, he is unfamiliar, to the Samagir "on the basis of the opinion of people (?) who have heard both vernaculars" (sic!). As for Schrenck's knowledge of the Samagir language, it amounts to a few terms and expressions obtained from certain representatives both on their territory -- on the Gorin -- and on the Amur. And, since the Samagir on the Amur are dispersed all the way to its lower reaches and along its tributaries, and they have adopted the local dialects here, one can be sure that he heard the dialect Olcha-Goldi-Orok rather than the Gorin -- Samagir. On the other hand, he separated even the Goldi from the Olcha, who are close to them in language, and joined the first to the Manchu, and not because he was fully sure of the closeness of their dialects (1), but because, regarding the Orochi, he

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1. "The language of the Orochi," says Schrenck, "is probably close to the Goldi

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> 114 121 197 language. Unfortunately, information about it is very scanty." And further he cites the evidence of Venyukov, who, by the way, knew only the southern Orochi, the so-called Taz, while the northern, i.e., the most typical, he did not know at all.

held to the views of Iakinf, that they were of southern origin, and therefore he considered it more convenient to join them, along with the Goldi, to the Manchu, as the basic people of the southern branch of the Tungus tribe.

In any case, the dialectal material in its present state may serve as a dependable guide only for those few, more thoroughly studied tribes, such as the Manchu Solon, and Daur, and for the others only as a secondary criterion in conjunction with other data, historical notes, popular legends, cultural survivals, and so forth, which testify to a common origin and closeness of tribal kinship.

121 101 From this point of view, the primordial self-designation of the nationalities included in the classification might serve as an important criterion for classification. I say primordial, for self-designations are /5/ of different kinds and origins. Often, in the presence of strangers, one or another nationality does not call itself by the name that its representatives call themselves in their own surroundings, by a term from its own language, and thus that people has two self-designations -- one peculiar, and the other, as it were, an international one by which it is called by neighboring peoples, and it often happens that a people loses its clan self-designation, calling itself by the term used by its neighbors. It happens, further, that a man, while preserving his tribal self-designation in his own language under certain circumstances, for example, while away from the common tribal territory, calls himself by the name of his clan in the presence of strangers, and cases occur, when such a clan occupies a new territory and multiplies, that then the clan self-designation replaces the primordial tribal one, which often is completely lost. Of course, of the tribal self-designations the important criterion is the primordial self-designation, i.e., the one that is the term from their own

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121 101 language and is used constantly during internal intercourse among themselves by the members of a given people. Such self-designations, when they have been preserved from remote antiquity, attain the significance of important historical evidence, and, consequently, if nationalities, particularly when they belong to one and the same linguistic group, have such a common self-designation, no matter how far they have separated from one another, we have sufficient grounds for finding in this fact the indubitable indication of common origin, or in any case an indication of closer kinship than among nationalities of the same group having different self-designations.

The names by which neighbors call one or another people also may often serve as a good supplementary criterion for common self-designations with respect to the question of the closeness of tribal kinship. If neighbors call two or more nationalities by one and the same name, then, along with common self-designations and other indications, such a fact is a very significant and supplementary argument.

Thus, the self-designations of nationalities in connection with the interclan nomenclature of a given territory may become the basis of classification with regard to the question of tribal kinship.

101 114 121 Academician Schrenck, to whom we are indebted for the present scientific nomenclature for the peoples of the Amur region, could not avail himself of this criterion; he did not succeed in securing the genuine self-designation /6/ of a single one of the Tungus nationalities, although he sometimes took the name used by their neighbors for the self-designation. Thus, for certain tribes he introduced those names which were already in use before his arrival by the local Russian population or earlier travelers (Goldi, Solon, Daur); others were introduced by him on the basis of his personal considerations. For the indigenous Tungus people living on Sakhalin, he introduced the completely new name of Orok; for the same tribe living on the lower reaches of the Amur between the Gilyak and the Goldi, the name Olcha, and he divided a few groups representing only a part of other tribes into separate tribes with separate names (Birar, Samagir, Kile). For the tribe living on the coast of

S /6 cont./
101 Tatar Strait and in the neighboring basins of rivers, he preserved
114 the name Orochi, given them by La Pérouse.

121 Generally, with regard to nomenclature, he, being a pioneer in the research of the Amur region, succeeded more in collecting material of an abstract-historical character rather than on the basis of close familiarity with the population.

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101 The criterion of self-designations, in connection with
121 materials on the intertribal nomenclature and other ethnographic indications, remains for the time being the only basis for classifi-
G-i cation. In my time, during my stay in the Amur region, while
101 investigating the local population I paid special attention to the question of self-designation and intertribal nomenclature, and as far back as 1896 I succeeded in ascertaining a group of Tungus nationalities who had one common self-designation, namely, Nani (1) (from na -- earth, ni -- native, of this place) (1). It is the name by which the representatives of the peoples of this group called themselves in their own surroundings, although, as we shall see below, in the presence of strangers they often call themselves by names given them by their neighbors, which has more than once confused a great number of travelers, including Schrenck.

G-i This group of Nani includes the following nationalities,
101 enumerated by me in the nomenclature of Schrenck: Goldi,
131 Olcha, Orok, and Orochi. With regard to territory, this group falls into: 1) the Sakhalin Nani (Schrenck: Orok), 2) Lower-Amur Nani (Schrenck: Olcha), living in the lower reaches of the Amur between the Gilyak and the Goldi, 3) Lower-Amur Nani (Goldi), with their subdivision into the Sungari, Ussuri, Iman, etc. /7/, according to the basins of the tributaries of the Amur inhabited by them, and, finally, 4) the Southeast Nani (Orochi), with their subdivision into the Northern, up to the settlement of Botchi (Orochi proper), and the Southern -- Kekha (Kekhal, Kekhar), about which see below.

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[113] 1. See the article "Orochi Tatarskogo zaliva /The Orochi of the Tatar Strait/" below /untranslated/. Ed.

Tungus RU5
Goldi RX 3

Gi T 101 /7 cont./

The other group consists of tribes calling themselves Evonki /Evenki/. Among them belong: 1) the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who appeared in the region and on Sakhalin only with the arrival of the Russians; 2) various Orochon groups who are nomads in the upper reaches of the Amur and kin to the Orochon of Zabaikalye and northern Manchuria, also separate Orochon clans of Manegir, Birar, probably clans of Samagir along the Gorin, and clans of Kile, divided by Schrenck into separate tribes; 3) from the point of view of self-designation, the Tungus nationality living on the Amgun Gi 101 197 near Lake Udyl and called Negidal by Middendorf and Schrenck stand apart. Their self-designation is Naskhagil. Although in culture (they are settled fishermen-hunters and dog-breeders) they stand closest to the Gilyak and Olcha, in language they stand closest to the Tungus proper, with whom they easily make themselves understood, although their language has many dialectal peculiarities: one noted by me is the regular replacement of the Tungus r with the sound j (oron -- ojon -- reindeer, and so forth), which indicates closeness to the Tungus proper, as we shall see further on, and they are the only people who call the wandering Gi 101 Tungus by their peculiar self-designation, Evonki. We shall see subsequently that their present self-designation is not their genuine, primordial self-designation, but the name of one of the dominant clans, and it is easy to allow that originally their self-designation as well as Evonki.

T 101 197 Furthermore, the Manchu Daur, and Solon adjoin the Tungus peoples of the Amur region, but territorially, culturally, and linguistically they must be separated into a branch distinct from the Gi [197] Priamur Tungus, which it is most convenient to call the Manchu. Among the peoples of the Priamur krai /Amur region/ the Goldi stand closest in language to this group, at least to the Manchu.

T Gi 101 121 On the question of classification, we must say in conclusion that for the most part classification by self-designation has significance historically, for self-designation may be preserved longer, especially in conditions of dispersion, and testify about the past fates of a people, than other peculiarities which easily change 000 under the influence of external conditions. Thus, for instance, in

1: Shternberg--46 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak
Goldi RX3

/7 cont./ Thus, for instance, in

101 the Nani group, /8/ the Sakhalin Orok have remained reindeer-
174 breeders up to the present time, when all the remaining representa-
184 tives of this group have already become settled fishermen-hunters,
433 and only legends and a few culture traits (child's cradle, tombs)
still testify to an earlier common culture. Furthermore, dispersion over the vast region and the process of assimilation introduce not a few changes into the structure of the earlier common language, and therefore self-designation often remains the only evidence about peoples who have gone separate ways, especially if they belong to one linguistic group.

From classification I proceed to nomenclature.

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121 By this I do not mean the one that is now accepted on the spot or in ethnographic works on the region, but the nomenclature used by each local nationality both in relation to itself and in relation to all those nationalities known to it. I personally collected this nomenclature during my time in the provinces and checked it many times, and in the form in which I present it now, in an abstract from my work which is prepared for publication, I think that it not only corrects the confusion which has been introduced by the heterogeneous reports of persons who had neither the opportunity nor the ability to check the accuracy of the notes they took in passing, but also provides material for establishing a correct scientific nomenclature, the importance of which, for an understanding of the historical past and interrelations of the nationalities of the region, requires no proof.

101 I begin with the easternmost tribe of the Nani group, namely, the so-called Orok.

They call themselves, as I have already said, Nani (literally, man of the land, of the country, native). The Tungus peoples on the Amur, including the Olcha and Orochi of Schrenck, call them Olcha and Ulcha, evidently on the basis of the fact that in their dialect the word reindeer is ola, ula, as distinguished from the Tungus oron. On the basis of this, the Orok themselves, with regard to the question of nationality, often also call themselves Olcha or Ulcha in the presence of strangers, but among themselves they always use the term Nani. Their neighbors -- the Sakhalin Gilyak -- call

1: Shternberg--46 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

Gi /8 cont./ Their neighbors -- The Sakhalin Gilyak -- call
101 them Ornyr (reindeer-breeders), and, what is particularly notable,
G [101] the Amur Gilyak call their neighbors, the Olcha of Schrenck, by
this same name, although they now are just as much fishermen --
dog-breeders as the Gilyak themselves, which testifies to the fact
Gi that in an earlier time the Olcha and the Orok had one common
[174] name and were a single tribe. In fact /9/ there are indications
that the Orok actually migrated from the Amur comparatively recently
G (in the seventeenth century) and, consequently, may con-
[101] stitute one tribe with the Olcha of Schrenck. On the other hand,
it is quite curious that the Amur Gilyak call both the Orok and the
Orochi by one and the same term, Tozung. Thus, in the nomenclature
of the neighbors of the Nani there has been preserved the
obvious recollection of three of the nationalities of this group, the
Orok, the Olcha, and the Orochi, as ethnically united. I shall
add further that the local Russians call the Orok simply Orochon,
a term carried from Zabaikalye for the local reindeer-breeders.

Gi
[131] The Olcha (live in the lower reaches of the Amur between
the settlement of Bogorodskoye and Nizhnetambovskiy). The
Gi [614] majority of the clans are of Goldi origin. They call themselves
Nani. The Tungus, Orochi, and Negda call them Mamu (of the
Amur), the Goldi call them Khyd'ye, Khydzyn, Khydeni (khyde --
down the river), the Amur Gilyak -- Ornyr, i. e., as the Sakhalin
Gilyak call the Orok. They do not call themselves Olcha; on
the contrary, they and all the Amur Tungus, including the Orochi,
call the Sakhalin Orok by that name. It is true that on the Amur
there are various clans bearing this name, for example, Ulcha
live in the settlement Auri, Ulchan-khala in the settlement Ukhta.
The Negidal sometimes call them Ngatku (along with the Goldi),
sometimes Olchan -- Orochon (Udyhe) with two pigtails. They
call the Negidal Burkà Orochà (on the Udyli), Khynguni; the Goldi --
Goldi or Gogdy (on the Khungari) -- with cut (shaven) forehead,
Gi along the Sungari -- Soleni (sole -- up the river). It is interesting
[177] that the Olcha have a Gilyak cradle (through the women -- wives
[854] from among the Gilyak women).
[582]

1: Shternberg--47 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3

Gi /9 cont./
101 The Orochi. They call themselves Nani, Nane. They are
called Orochà and Orochi by the Amur Olcha, and therefore in the
G presence of Russians they call themselves Orocha and Orochon. The
[101] Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur call them Tozung -- as
they call the Orok. The Manchuized, more southern branch from
Botchi and Samargi, as well as those living along the rivers Bikin,
Khoru, and Khungari, are called Kekha, Kera, or Taz, and also
Gi [103] Khyd'ye, by their neighbors. The Goldi (in the settlement
Chel'tsy) call them Namuka, but call those living along the
Khungari and farther -- Kekar. In the settlement Susu, they call
Gi them all Namuka without distinction. Those who live along the
[197] Anyuyu call themselves Udde. According to the words of the
Gi Orochi, their language and the language of the Olcha and Goldi
[252] are almost the same. The Olcha and the Orochi smoke fish, while
[84] the Goldi prepare it as the Gilyak do. The Orochi have Tungus
[481] ski, their yurts are Gilyak.
[177]
[342] The Goldi. They call themselves Nani; the "Upper" Goldi,
those living up to Khabarovsk, are called Solibini (settlement
Gi Chel'tsy, Susu); those living above Khabarovsk, on the Ussuri and
101 103 Sungari, are called /10/ Akhani (settlement Susu); the Lower Goldi --
Khyybini (settlement Chel'tsy), Khydzeni (settlement Susu), or
Khydzyri (as the Torgonsk call the Voznesensk); they call the
Mariinsk (Olcha) Khydze. The coastal Orochi (settlement
Chel'tsy) or all of them (settlement Susu) are called Namuka by
the Goldi; those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar
(settlement Chel'tsy); the Tungus -- Kilyr; the Chinese -- Nakà,
Gi the Manchu -- Mantszo, the Koreans -- Gaule (settlement Susu).
101 The Negidal call the Goldi (from B.-Mikhaylovskiy to Khabarovsk)
Ngatku ("uncut," not shaving the forehead) and Gold ("cut,"
shaven); the Negidal also call the Olcha Ngatku. The Olcha call
G the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (the Khungari) or Soleni (the Sungari).
[101] The Amur Gilyak call them Toh, Yadgu.

/11/

The Gilyak

000 The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/

The Gilyak

I.

Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

131 The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present
[161] time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered
[101] over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

101 In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai
131 River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representa-
167 tives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

131 On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

/13 cont./

175 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data
131 that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area
of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half
centuries.

131 The greatest density of population is found in the areas of
103 the most abundant fishing, such as: the banks of the Amur and its
162 estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184),
Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the
points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103),
Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements
Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility
of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus
[144] neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea
to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the
facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with
identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the
only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives
[197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its
lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does
the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages
of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic
continent we find no other language which could lay claim to
close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/14 cont./

101 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
174 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the
197 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the
same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them
in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis
of this classification was purely external in character, namely,
their common position on the edge of the continent, and the con-
sequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous
peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more re-
cent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to
the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship
between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however.
Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the
Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
197 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language
convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed.
Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak lan-
guage and of many American languages, such as the merging of
pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward
polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the
types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at par-
ticular points which are extremely characteristic. For example,
one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system
of numerals, according to which different categories of objects
can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them,
a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any
of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a
problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question
of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On
the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus
tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower
reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician
Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of
the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of
the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now
living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
[114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/15 cont./
174 types of animals mentioned are actually encountered only very
114 rarely in the territory of the Gilyak on the Amur and, on the other
hand, very frequently in the territory of their Tungus neighbors,
the Goldi, Olcha, Orochi, and Samagir, and therefore there is
nothing surprising in the fact that the Tungus names spread among
the Gilyak, but even if in Schrenck's time the animals mentioned
were encountered there somewhat more frequently, this could be
a matter of pure accident. It often happens that extraordinary
reasons, such as the appearance of a new and strong enemy, compel
this or that animal to save itself by flight from its normal territory
to distant places, but such phenomena do not prove that the
new territory in which these animals accidentally appeared was
their primordial habitat. In general, how convincing Schrenck's
conclusion is may be seen from the fact that the tiger is absolutely
not encountered on Sakhalin and very rarely enters the territory of
the Gilyak on the Amur, but nevertheless both the Sakhalin and
the Amur Gilyak have their own name for it, "klund."

172 On the contrary, everything speaks for the fact that on
174 Sakhalin it is the Gilyak who are the newcomers, having replaced
192 or driven out their predecessors -- the Ainu. Let us start with the
linguistic /16/ data. The Gilyak still call trees and some sea animals
that are absent on the continent by Ainu terms, such as
nistan' (maple), tarman' (yew tree), nuguchep (sea pig?), and
others. Furthermore, we have even more objective proof that in
any case it was not the Gilyak who were the most ancient aborigines
of the island. Throughout the entire territory of Gilyak settlement
on Sakhalin Island, right up to its northernmost extremities, one
encounters the remnants of ancient dugouts, in the form of round
and more or less large pits, and, upon excavating them, I found
pot fragments and some implements of the Stone Age. The Gilyak
call these pits nothing other than kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits), a name
which quite clearly indicates that the Gilyak regard the Ainu as
172 the original inhabitants. The Stone Age implements and the pot
fragments found in these pits are regarded by the Gilyak as the
handiwork of the gods (the pot fragments, for example, are regarded
by them as the pots of a heavenly man who dropped them

/16 cont./

172 by accident), while it is known that the Stone Age on the extreme northeast of Asia is not so far removed from the present epoch that the Gilyak, unless they were very late arrivals, would not have preserved some independent traditions about this period. It is interesting that even the Ainu, in turn, stubbornly repudiate these ancient pits found in their own territory on southern Sakhalin, ascribing them to another people, the mythical Ton'chi. Like the Gilyak, they regard the pot fragments found in these dugouts as in some way sacred and excellent medicine, for example, for toothache. As a matter of fact, these pits could hardly belong to either the Ainu or the Gilyak, for, if either of them had ever been familiar with pottery, they would never have lost it. If they had ever known this art, it would have been reflected in their legends, which have preserved an even more ancient recollection of a primitive way of boiling water by means of burning-hot stones.

In their shape, their large size, their unusual location, and their suitability for self-defense, these pits resemble the large pits of the Eskimo more than the contemporary pits of the Gilyak and the Ainu. Whatever the case was, the Gilyak, finding the Ainu on Sakhalin, naturally had to suppose that these ancient pits belonged to the Ainu, and the Gilyak term kugi-tul'kch (Ainu pits) speaks convincingly enough for the fact that the Gilyak were not the aborigines of Sakhalin.

173 /17/ These objective data on the aboriginal inhabitants of the island are confirmed by numerous legends about the bloody wars of the newcomers with the Ainu, who, in the graphic expression of the Gilyak, at the time of the arrival of the latter on the island, even on the shore of the Sea of Okhotsk, were as numerous "as mosquitoes."

Finally, many clans of the Gilyak in the extreme north regard the Ainu as their ancestors, about whom they have preserved the most clear and numerous legends, which have been carefully recorded by me.

/17 cont./

174 Thus, it is indisputable that the Gilyak are relatively late
arrivals on Sakhalin. There are, however, many reasons for believing
that the territory occupied by the Gilyak at the present time
cannot be considered very ancient, that, strange as it seems, the
Gilyak arrived in their present territory from more northerly areas
closer to the Arctic Circle. Indeed, some of the peculiarities of
Gilyak life seem to be clear survivals from a period of residence in
174 a colder climate. The most typical proof of this kind is a remnant
171 connected with their winter abode -- the dugout. The Gilyak dugout
342 is built in the manner of the Kamchadal. But while there is
no door in the Kamchadal yurt, because of the severity of the
arctic winter, and its function is performed by the smoke opening,
among the Gilyak, due to the lesser severity of the winter, the
dugout has a passageway from which a low, sliding door leads into
the yurt.

342 There are also times when the smoke opening in the Gilyak
796 yurt once again performs the function of a door as among the
178 Kamchadal. This is during the days of the bear festival, when the
furthest echoes from the most remote antiquity come to life from the
mist of millenniums, when a ritual which has not changed for tens
of centuries is observed with reverential strictness. Then there returns
the memory of the smoke opening, which at one time served
as the only entrance into the yurt; through this opening a Gilyak
with the skin and the meat of the bear killed during the festival
descends down a pole which is specially set up for this occasion.
At the end of the festival all the accessories of the ritual, as well
as the bones of the bear, are carried out of the yurt through the
same smoke opening. The violation of this ritual is regarded as
the greatest sin. Those Gilyak who have adopted the Manchu
[179] yurt, where there is no smoke opening, are forced to open their
windows of fish skin during the days of the festival, in spite of the
February frost, so that in this extraordinary /18/ way they can take
the sacred relics in and out and thus, albeit approximately, perform
the ancient ritual. That the fact cited by us is actually a
[192] remnant of their way of life is clearly proved by the fact that the
very concepts for "enter" and "exit" from the yurt are expressed in
Gilyak by words whose literal meaning is "dive in" and "dive out"

342 /18 cont./

796 178 (*kuzind* and *jugynd*), which is fully consistent with the manner of
192 entering and leaving through the smoke opening.

I shall not at this point speak of any other aspect of the
171 arctic way of life. I shall mention only the remarkable fact that
174 riding on dogs (we encounter it among the Yukagir, the Chukchee,
492 the Eskimo, the Aleut, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal) is undoubtedly a characteristic peculiarity of the purely arctic way of life adopted by the natives of the Amur region, the Ainu, the Goldi, and the Orochi, from the Gilyak. The Gilyak term "*tu*" -- dog sled -- became the property of both the Ainu and the Tungus tribes. The priority, as it were, of the Gilyak in this respect is clearly revealed in everything. The Ainu and the Tungus tribes (the Goldi and the Orochi) have adopted from the Gilyak not only the term and the principle of conveyance on dogs, but also the details of building the sled, the ways of sitting on the sled (astride, with the feet on ski along the sides of the sled), the harness of the dogs, and driving them. It is remarkable that among the reindeer Chukchee, among whom dog-raising is preserved only in legends, the Gilyak way of sitting on the sled (astride) has been preserved to the present. The same way of sitting was habitual among the Kamchadal as well.

In connection with this hypothesis, it is interesting to compare a very widespread legend.

173 Among the numerous legends that I have collected about
174 the origin of the Gilyak clans, I have frequently encountered a
133 legend about how this or that clan came to Sakhalin on the so-
[614] called "*hovykh*." By "*hovykh*" the Gilyak mean everything that is carried on the current of a river or sea, for the most part clods of earth or tundra turf broken off from the bank, and also floes of ice which are carried on a sea current. One such *hovykh* is still pointed out on the eastern shore of Sakhalin in Nyyvo Bay, where it formed a minuscule island opposite the settlement of Takrvo.
[614] It is alleged that a part of the clan now living in the settlement of Tangi on the western shore appeared on this *hovykh*. There is nothing impossible about conveyance on a *hovykh*. It not infrequently happens that during the spring hunt for seals a sudden

/18 cont./

173 hurricane breaks up the joined ice-floes and carries separate floes
174 together with the hunters caught on them, into the /19/ open sea,
133 often throwing them on the shore far from their place of residence. One can also not infrequently see tremendous pieces of turf, on which dozens of people could be placed, being carried on the waves of the sea, having been torn from the coastal tundra by storms. During the civil wars among the Ainu, when someone urgently needed to escape from persecution, there existed a practice according to which the persecuted one fearlessly transferred his family and his boat to a "hovykh" which happened to be passing by fixed on it the sacred pole with the sharpened wooden tongues, and entrusted his fate to the caprice of the wind and the current.

Now, if we consider that the currents pass from the north along both shores of Sakhalin Island and the continental coast, currents which carry ice floes almost until the month of July, one can allow with more or less probability that the legendary hovykh served as that natural means by which individual seekers of adventure or exiles moved from the north to the south, and furthermore it is not difficult to imagine how, step by step, such migrations reached the extreme southern limits of the present-day Gilyak area of settlement. Almost before our eyes, since the time of Middendorf, the northern boundary of the permanent area of settlement of the Gilyak has descended from the mouth of the Tugur to the mouth of the Kol' River.

174 We should not imagine, however, that the migration of the Gilyak into their present territory is a matter of a historical epoch very close to us. We have positive evidence about the permanence of the boundaries of the Gilyak territory for the last two and a half centuries, and the legends of the Gilyak about the island and the continental coast depict this tribe as fully acclimated to its present homeland, and among primitive peoples such acclimation comes about through a long process of many, many centuries, maybe millenniums.

[829] At this point, I cannot fail to mention one characteristic fact, which is in a way characteristic of the ways of thinking of the Gilyak themselves, on the question of their kinship with other tribes.

/19 cont./

174 124 829 In 1893 during my stay in the settlement of Langr on a small island lying opposite the continental coast, I talked to an old Gilyak, a contemporary of Nevelskoi and Orlov, who were the first men active in the lower reaches of the Amur. I was not a little astonished when during our conversation, while reminiscing about the workers of the Russian-American Company, to whom my interlocutor had in his time been of service, he suddenly said: "I think, however, that the Gilyak and the Aleut are of the same race. It turned out that the well-known seaman, Orlov, who served in the Russian-American Company, /20/ was accompanied by an Aleut, with whom my Gilyak informant had a chance to talk at great length, and as a result, after an exchange of stories about the customs and the way of life of their fellow tribesmen, by the way, about the bear festival, they both came to the conclusion that the Gilyak and the Aleut are *kal'nyakhr* (one people). Taken by themselves, such primitive conclusions, cannot, of course, have any great significance for the solution of the question, but in connection with other considerations about the arctic origin of the Gilyak, this naïve testimony of a Gilyak is, at any rate, characteristic.

144 [174] Thus, the language, the archaeological data, the remnants of peculiarities of their way of life, and the legends make it possible for us to lift somewhat the veil of the distant past of the Gilyak tribe. On the other hand, purely anthropological data can play no role in the question that interests us. Anthropologically, the Gilyak least of all represent anything original. There is no such thing as a specific Gilyak type. The average type of Gilyak is at the present time a complex of ordinary, though somewhat softened Mongoloid features with a deviation on the one hand to the Tungus, and on the other to the Ainu type. In the Ainu type, as Schrenck has already noted, the face is more or less oval, the forehead straight, the cheek bones moderately pronounced, the squint of the eye very insignificant or completely absent, the nose more or less long, the spine of the nose with a curve, and the growth of hair on the face abundant. In the Tungus type, on the other hand, the Mongoloid features are expressed in full sharpness. In the feminine type the Tungus features predominate. This is everything that

/20 cont./

144 observations of the physical peculiarities of the Gilyak give us. At the same time, other facts and considerations provide us with a full basis for thinking that the ancient Gilyak type has completely perished, drowned in the stronger wombs of the neighboring tribes. This took place, however, not in an ordinary way, not through a gradual interbreeding with the neighboring tribes by means of intertribal marriages, which would be not at all so surprising, but in quite peculiar, extremely instructive way.

174 In conducting the census of the Gilyak, I carefully collected
167 information and legends about the origin of each particular clan.
614 The study of these data brought me to the strange conclusion that
144 the founders of the great majority of the clans now in existence
[126] were not the Gilyak, but representatives of the neighboring tribes.
How could this have happened? It is a common phenomenon even at the present time that separate individuals for one reason or another may abandon their native tribe and, escaping persecution or misfortune at home, seek refuge /21/ in a neighboring, alien tribe... Here they find traditional hospitality, settle down, marry (usually a widow) and, in this way, are adopted into this or that clan, naturally adopting the language and customs of the tribe that has harbored them. The descendants of such newcomers normally form either independent clans or special branches of those clans that adopted them. And the history of the Gilyak clans shows that these clans of newcomers, or the branches of the clans founded by them, in time invariably grew in membership and sturdily survived, while the older clans or the oldest branches of the clan decayed and in the course of several generations died out. The most vital, growing, and numerous clans are the descendants of precisely these newcomers. Whether the reason lies in the fact that the newcomers and exiles represent a natural selection of exceptionally energetic and vital individuals, or this is the result of interbreeding, the fact is not subject to doubt; I found it not only among the Gilyak.

174 As a result of the census of the Gilyak, I asked myself in
144 perplexity, if in the course of a great number of centuries there
has been a constant inflow of fresh elements from other tribes, an inflow that was strengthened by the purchase of wives and female slaves from the Ainu and the Goldi, and if these new elements flourished and multiplied while the indigenes degenerated and died

/21 cont./
174 out, what remained of the indigenous type of the original Gilyak
144 tribe? Yes, that original type irretrievably disappeared. The body
197 of the Gilyak tribe died forever, but its spirit is alive, alive in its language, a language which, as we have said, stands completely alone in the assemblage of languages of the Asiatic continent, and in its peculiar customs and institutions which, together with the language, have survived all the vicissitudes of its physical transformation. The persistent preservation of the language is striking. It has not only protected itself against distortion by roots and forms from other tribes, but, in spite of the small membership of the tribe, has preserved two large dialects and no fewer than five or six subdialects, which testify to the fact that there was a time when the Gilyak language was spoken by many tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of individuals scattered over a vast territory,-who left us numerous idioms as proof of their existence.

174 But not only the language of the Gilyak tribe continues to testify to its isolated position among the surrounding nationalities; its social institutions, clan organization, religion, and especially /22/ the institution of marriage, amazingly peculiar norms of sexual intercourse, and equally amazing kinship nomenclature clearly testify to this. Before we proceed to this aspect of their life, however, we shall first touch upon, within the briefest limits, the external conditions of their life, the nature which surrounds them, and the outward appearance of the Gilyak.

II.

132 Environment. Type. External Life.

[131] The nature amidst which these people live at the present time is full of the greatest contrasts. In spite of the southerly latitude (between 46° and $54\ 1/2^{\circ}$ north latitude), the average yearly temperature falls in some places to -1.2°. The freezing of mercury in the middle of the island is a common phenomenon. Even in July there are minimums of 7.7°. Ice floats off the

/22 cont./

132 northern shores of Sakhalin and on the eastern coast even in July.
In the mountains the snow begins to melt in June and in some
places does not succeed in melting away all summer. Perpetual
ice is encountered not infrequently at sea level. In 1893 on a
small island opposite the settlement of Visk-vo, I discovered by
sheer accident under a thin layer of sand exactly at sea level a
gigantic strip of perpetual ice, which in structure and size
resembled a gigantic glacier which could have been brought here by
the cold current.

In winter northwestern hurricanes periodically rage for days
on end, producing terrible snowstorms. In summer there is fog
and rain ... A somber country! In the low areas, which are
open to the wind and the icy breath of the cold currents, the
subarctic or even more southerly flora of the elevated areas is
replaced by real arctic flora. The climate of this country owes its
severity to a cold current and to the devastating northwest winds,
which, with the force of a hurricane, blow with periodic regularity,
132 killing and freezing everything in their path. This is why the
137 places which are protected from these winds and from the severe
sea fogs offer such a striking contrast in richness of flora and
mildness of scenery to the low and open areas. In the valleys which
lie in the interior of the island or which are otherwise protected,
one encounters mild scenery with poplars, elms, oaks, and even
yew trees, walnuts, a very rich carpet of flowers, gigantic spiraea,
umbrella-like plants, and on some slopes even grapes.

137 In the neighborhood of *Vitis uvae* Thunbergii one will find
Cembra pumila and a carpet of alpine arctic flora.

133 /23/ In relief Sakhalin Island is an almost completely
mountainous country with meridional chains which diverge into
countless spurs in all directions, forming a continuous mass of
[132] peaks, cones, cliffs, and capes. Not rising, on the average, more
than 3,000-4,000 feet above sea level, these mountains, in many
places covered with snow until late summer, have a tremendous
13 cooling effect on the climate of the country. The fantastic
contours of the mountains, rugged and mighty, the capes and cliffs,
which are kissed by the breakers and fanned by the hurricanes;
the slumbering taiga of spruce and larch which cover all the

/23 cont./

13 elevated areas, where their natural inhabitants -- the bears -- wander; strong winds which create hellish snowstorms and destructive hurricanes; the sea, always stormy and teeming with giants and sea monsters; fogs, and the sky always covered with leaden-colored clouds -- such are the surrounding conditions which with powerful strokes have inscribed their features on the psychics and world view of the Gilyak, conditions which have inscribed the qualities of vitality and courage, along with the quality of sternness, in the s[illegible]al make-up of the inhabitant of this rugged island.

136 Of the animals surrounding the Gilyak, the bear, the strongest and most terrible inhabitant of his taiga, plays the most important role. In the chapter on religion, I shall discuss in detail the influence of this animal on the whole religious psychics of the Gilyak. Now I wish only to indicate the role of this animal in the natives' struggle for survival. If this animal were as aggressive as, say, the Bengal tiger, it would have been almost impossible, in the face of its extreme abundance, for primitive man to live in these areas. The northern bear, however, is distinguished for its gentleness, which seems almost unbelievable. During the first years of my stay on Sakhalin the flocks of the settlers grazed side by side with the bears, and while picking berries the women of the settlers more than once bumped sides with their clumsy competitors; and if the bear in such cases sometimes did not behave exactly like a gentleman, this expressed itself only in his pushing the woman if the latter accidentally brushed against him with her pot or bucket. During my travels I more than once had to put up for the night in areas abounding in bears, and more than once, while lying inside my tent, I could hear the heavy footsteps of Mikhail Potapych, curious to inspect our camp...

144 I have already said something about the physical type of the Gilyak. An average Gilyak type does not exist. He fluctuates between the sharp Mongoloid features of the Tungus type and the comely /24/ gentle features of the Ainu type. That is why among the Gilyak one so frequently encounters subjects whom it is difficult to distinguish from true Tungus, and, at the same time, others who impress one by their almost European features. The

/24 cont./

144 latter, however, are encountered considerably less often. Only in women and children are the Mongoloid features expressed with particular distinctness.

142 The Gilyak are generally of medium stature (much taller than the Tungus), although one finds subjects who are above medium height, they are stocky and solidly built, but one never meets fat ones among them. The head is proportionately large; its platy-brachycephalic skull is overgrown with black hair, which descends down the backs of the men in one braid, of the women in two. The color of the face is dark and muddy. In youth the red of the cheeks is of a pink-brick shade. Their lips are thick; their teeth are a dark-yellowish color (from smoking). The extremities of their arms and legs are strikingly small.

157 The Gilyak have always been depicted as morose, gloomy, and unsociable and are always contrasted with the gentle expression of the face of the Ainu. I find this opinion unjust. If there are features of moroseness in the Gilyak, these are purely of external origin and caused by the justified distrust of foreigners, who have caused them no little harm. I personally have had many contacts with this tribe and have carried away the conviction that the moroseness of the Gilyak is a purely external trait. Under this morose exterior there hides a gentle nature capable of deep attachments, expansiveness, and trust. Due to his expansiveness, the Gilyak is capable of swift changes of mood. The morose expression of his face, moved from concentration by the slightest stimulus from without, in one second beams with an expression of the most naïve good-nature, or becomes inflamed with a terrible fire of anger. The Gilyak is usually slow in his movements and restrained at home when he plays the role of host, but he is agitated and active in periods of gaiety and excitement, when his speech flows in a stormy current from his overfull breast.

The woman is gloomier in appearance than the man. With her eyes constantly lowered and slow in her movements, she immediately gives the impression of a frightened creature. In reality she is not. It is sufficient for her to begin to speak with you, and, in her artificially-muil'irovannyy accent, in the ingratiating, flattering intonation and timbre of her voice, in her smile and roguish, laughing look, you will recognize a true daughter of Eve,

/24 cont./

157 for whom the outward severity is only a mask concealing a nature that is acquainted with passions.

291 /25/ The winter clothing of the Gilyak, of both men and women, consists of a fur coat of dog skins, the fur outward, and fur leg coverings and boots of sealskin in the Chinese fashion. Besides this, the men wear skirts of sealskin descending from the belt to the knees, not for the sake of adornment, but to protect the fur coat from wear and damage while sitting on the ice, in the snow, etc. The winter costume is very imposing. In a black coat of dog fur fitted at the waist, against whose dark background the pale-gray skirt made of the skins of young seals stands out in gentle contrast, in finely sewed boots with narrow toes, in a hat of fox paws and with earlaps, in fur gloves covering the sleeves -- the Gilyak makes a fine, dashing impression.

[178] In summer the national costume of the Gilyak (now falling completely out of use) consists of a peasant's cloth coat, armyak, made out of fish skins and trimmed on the edges with designs. In recent times a summer garment of colored daba or American drel' has come into style. The women's summer garment is much more imposing: light and flowing dresses made of colored imported materials, mostly red in color, with beautiful decorations along the edges, cockle shells sewed on, and all sorts of rattles which sound at the least movement. Only the large boots completely disproportionate to the length and size of the legs and tightly stuffed with hay, which replaces stockings, spoil the lightness of the figure of the woman, giving her a heavy, awkward look.

136 Now a few words about the material conditions of life of the Gilyak. A remarkable affair. The very condition that has such a [133] fatal influence on the nature of Sakhalin, namely, the cold northern current, this ruinous condition has made human existence [226] possible in this rugged country. It is this that in certain seasons and with astronomical precision brings masses of salmon and other fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, filling the rivers and streams to such a degree that one can obtain the fish in any amount by means of a simple, sharpened stick, a method to which I myself resorted during hungry intervals in my travels. This [172] abundance of fish and the ease of obtaining them explains the strange fact that -- as the marks of the excavations made eloquently show -- in this rugged country the existence of primitive man was possible at a very remote time.

/25 cont./

000 man was possible at a very remote time. As a matter of fact,
226 these fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn even now serve
262 as the basis of life for the Gilyak and his only domestic animals,
[231] the dogs. The fish, caught and dried in the sun by the tens of
[251] thousands, /26/ are stored in pile storehouses and, in the literal sense of the word, replace bread for the Gilyak during the long winter. The fresh local fish that he catches all year round are merely an addition to this daily bread of preserved salmon. The countless schools of the fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn provide food not only for the Gilyak. No smaller packs of all kinds of pinnipeds and cetaceans follow the schools of fish,
225 pursuing the abundant food. After the fish, the pinnipeds consti-
262 tute the second source of the food supply of the Gilyak. In early
[221] spring, at the first signs of the opening of the ice, the famished native comes out to hunt seals, which are happy for the opportunity to breathe the fresh air on the ice floes which are breaking up.

225 In favorable places these animals are hunted all through the
146 summer by means of a very long harpoon which is thrown from a boat. Besides their skins, which are quite indispensable in the Gilyak economy, seals also provide supplies of fat, which serves as a seasoning for the hard yukola, and also as an independent food product that is extremely important for the life of the Gilyak. The effect of the fat on the organism of the native is striking. Here it is the end of winter. The famished Gilyak, if he has not been brought down by scurvy, can hardly walk. But the seal need only appear, and he is momentarily transformed. He greedily throws himself on the melted fat, drinks it in all forms, with tea, with fish, and even just as it is, and in a few days he becomes unrecognizable: his cheeks become pink, his body gains weight, and vitality expresses itself in his every movement.

224 In autumn, after the end of the run of fish, an active and
[221] happy season of hunting begins. Bears in abundance come down to the banks of the streams to regale themselves on salmon, and the Gilyak lies in wait for them with gun and spear. Every bear killed is an occasion for communal festivities and celebrations. Before the season for fish and bear has come to an end, the sable has put on his dark coat, and it is time to hunt him. Now the setting up of snares at the crossing of rivers and the building of

/26 cont./

224 traps begin. This is perhaps the most interesting season in the
manifold yearly activities of the Gilyak. He leaves his home
for several weeks and betakes himself to his inherited sable stream
to watch for the valuable little beasts. During the daytime he
inspects his snares and traps, shooting birds and any kind of animal
that he meets along the way; for the night he betakes himself
to his little balagan. He must live through some difficult
moments in this little balagan. Here, in the wild taiga, amidst the
gloom of night, the silence of the wilderness, or the howl of a
snowstorm, to the lonely savage, cooped up at his minuscule
hearth or vainly trying to warm himself /27/ at the temperature of
the freezing of mercury, each rustle, each strange sound, each
snap of a tree, howl of the wind, moan of a night bird, and,
finally, the hallucinations of his own frightened imagination depict
in all their terrible reality all the horrors of the Gilyak demonology.
The devils and ogres of all the elements in the imagry
of the Gilyak appear to him, to cause his destruction. And the
terrible exhaustion after his labors, the lack of food -- all this
aggravates the horror of the situation, bringing sickness often even
death. Sable hunting, however, promises more than just terrors
and adversity. A successful catch, gay company, a triumphal return
home with the catch, stories about experiences, all this fully
rewards the hunter worn out with suffering. But, on the whole,
the Gilyak is not a hunter. Hunting with dogs is unfamiliar to
him, the risky pursuit of bears, of which the Tungus are so fond,
[262] does not attract the Gilyak. By and large he is an ichthyophagist,
and someone has very correctly said about him that he lives by
frutti di mare /the fruits of the sea/.

221 The winter months are the gayest ones in the year. The
supplies of fish have not yet been exhausted. On the earnings from
the catch, tea, tobacco, rice, and *buda* were stored up, and the
[574] Gilyak cares little about the future. Endless visiting begins, and
[796] listening to the storytellers at night, and, beginning in February,
[538] there are the bear festivals, the happiest days in the life of the
[261] Gilyak. In March, however, the results of the winter extravagance
[164] begin to tell, and there come the hard days of hunger and sometimes
ooo scurvy, which carries away dozens of flourishing lives. In

/27 cont./

22 In spring, with the seals and the first fish that travel in masses upstream to spawn, the koryushka, herring, the Gilyak is again revived, and in the course of the summer months in the expectation of the autumn catch he again begins to make visits and dolce far niente.

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252 In speaking of guests I cannot fail to mention a peculiar festive dish and the favorite food item to which Gilyak guests are treated -- the so-called mos'. It is prepared from a sticky broth of fish skins, seal fat, berries, rice, sometimes with the addition of small pieces of yukola. All this is mixed together and cooled. Sometimes, to add color and flavor, a solution of white clay is added to the mixture. Without any fastidiousness, the boiled fish skins are squeezed out into a trough by the dirty hands of the Gilyak women, and for more flavor the small pieces of yukola are first ground with the teeth and spat out with the saliva into the dish...

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[177] The exterior living conditions of the Gilyak are very simple. Only in some places closest to the Amur have the Gilyak adopted the Manchu type of winter dwellings, which, by the way, are also very primitive. In form they are large sheds /28/ built with poles and spars, in which large pipes made of stone or wood and smeared with clay, and connected at the openings with the stove, are laid on the floor along each wall. Laid out over the pipes are plank beds, which are always heated by the warmth of the pipes. The smoke of the stove goes out through an underground passage into a high, vertical pipe which rises straight up from the surface of the ground. The role of this pipe, which resembles those on our factories, is played by a hollow tree. In the middle of a yurt there is a high, rectangular scaffold on which the packs of dogs are let out when they are to be fed. A more primitive yurt is a dugout, which is half in the ground and covered with poles and spars smeared with clay or covered with earth. The entrance from the passageway is through a low door along several steps. The hearth is in the middle of the yurt and is surrounded by passages between the plank [132] beds; over the hearth is the smoke opening. In winter, even in the yurts of the first type, it is sometimes so cold that the mercury in the thermometer freezes, and with the least wind the yurt becomes

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516 full of smoke. One sleeps on the plank beds with the head toward the hearth and on skins or quilted bedding; under the head there are

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352 [519] [422] roller-like pillows stuffed with hair or feathers. The favorite position of the Gilyak is either to sit in Turkish fashion or to lie sprawled out on his plank bed. In the depths of the plank bed are placed boxes with valuables, Chinese silks, robes, expensive spears, furs, and other things that play a role on the solemn occasions of one's life: when a beloved person who has died is sent off on the long road to the settlement of the dead; when a daughter is provided with a dowry and sent off to her husband's house; when it is necessary to pay ransom in affairs of vengeance, or to pay the bride money for a bride bought for a son or brother, and on similar occasions.

342 The summer dwelling is a hut placed directly on the ground, or a pile structure made of spars and poles.

411 The weapons of the Gilyak consist of a bow, already beginning, by the way, to go out of use, a spear with a long tip and frequently adorned with skillfully made silver inlays, and of late a gun, with which he has already become familiar. In addition one can mention crossbows of various types and a harpoon for hunting sea animals, which is attached to a very long, sectional shaft, several meters in length.

493 [501] As the means of transportation, sleds serve in winter, boats in summer. The Gilyak dog-sled is in its way beyond perfecting. Being about two meters in length and about 30 centimeters in height and width, put together from slender birch bars with /29/ a light binding in the seat, they are so light that a person can lift them with one hand without any difficulty, and at the same time they are so sturdy that they can carry a weight of a quarter of a ton; in elasticity and sturdiness only the ancient Kamchadal dog-sled can compare with them.

Overturned, runners up, they have the shape of a flattened segment which touches the ground with the smallest part of its surface. Because of the small area of friction, they are very light when in motion, are easily carried over difficult places, and on a smooth road, and especially on ice, they glide like the
492 best English skates. The manner of steering them is very original.
493 Because of their very small width, they are very unstable and lose their balance at the least unevenness. Therefore, the

/29 cont./

493 person steering the sled sits astride it and keeps his feet, not on 492 the runners, but on ski which glide by the side of the sled. By moving his ski apart or by bringing them closer together, the Gilyak changes his center of gravity as required and thus gives stability to the sled. In places which are more or less steep so that the sled has to move obliquely, he holds it back by means of sticks with iron tips which are driven between the runners and the upper crosspiece. In rapid movement these same sticks serve as brakes. The dogs are led by their lead dog, usually a small, uncomely creature who obeys his own extraordinary senses as much as the commands of the driver. At a time of danger, in the middle of a raging snow storm, or in late spring in the midst of broken ice-floes on top of which water is already coming out, the driver can only depend on the remarkable instinct of his loyal [435] friend and slave. A good lead dog costs from 30 to 50 rubles, ordinary draft dogs from three to eight rubles. Twelve to thirteen [556] dogs are harnessed to the sled of a rich man; poor men are satisfied with three to five.

501 The native dugout of the Gilyak, a boat of poplar, is also built on the model of the sled. It is so light that a little boy of ten or twelve drags it by himself without difficulty a hundred steps or more to the bank. Its bottom has the same spherical and flattened surface as the dog sled, so that it does not sit deep and passes over the shallowest places. On encountering an obstacle in the form of a shoal or isthmus between the lagoons, the Gilyak easily carries it on his back and then lowers it into the water.

221 Means of transportation play an immense role in the life of our native. The Gilyak is in general a semisedentary person. In summer hs usually lives near a river or sea, while for the winter /30/ he migrates farther away to more protected places, to his warm, winter dwellings.

Even in summer, following the fish, he changes his place of residence along the course of the river two or three times. In addition to these regular changes of residence, the Gilyak has to resettle for a number of other reasons. At the end of winter, when his food runs out, he travels to distant places on his dog sled to

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221 purchase fish, while in many places (for example, on the Tym')
the inhabitants set out in whole settlements to travel several hundred
kilometers to the seashore for the spring seal-hunting, only
to return half a year later for the fall run of fish in their native
574 places. The Gilyak likes to travel, however, even without
517 serious reasons for it. To make visits, receive guests, arrange
[484] celebrations, and live gregariously are the greatest pleasures of
[157] the Gilyak. Gloomy and stern while alone, he is transformed in
society and becomes playful, gay, and garrulous.

342 In the north, in winter, between 30 and 40 people live in
157 the big yurts of the Manchu type. It is here that sociableness,
which is inherent anyway in the conditions of the social framework
128 of the Gilyak, is cultivated. Now, however, we must leave
the external aspect of the life of the Gilyak and pass to its internal
structure, with whose unique peculiarities I intend mainly
to acquaint my readers.

III.

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Kinship System. Marriage Norms and Their Influence on the Family-Clan Structure.

Of all the peculiarities of the Gilyak way of life nothing so
characteristically distinguishes them from the surrounding nationalities
as their classificatory system of kinship and the rules that
regulate their sexual relations and marriage. In this respect the
Gilyak stand equally far from their southern neighbors, the Ainu,
and from the Tungus tribes that surround them. The Ainu are the
only nationality of the Priamur krai who have preserved features of
[611] maternality /materniteta/. The Gilyak family and clan are purely
[614] patriarchal institutions. As for the Tungus tribes, although the
[595] classificatory system of kinship and certain characteristics of group
marriage analogous to those discovered by me in 1891 among the
Gilyak were discovered by me among them, a careful comparison
of this institution among the Tungus tribes and among the Gilyak
leads to the conclusion that they /31/ belong to quite different

601 /31 cont./
171 periods in the evolution of marriage, and, although they could
174 have influenced one another, they basically belong, speaking in
[595] the language of geology, to different formations. It is sufficient
[835] to say that among the Tungus tribes sexual intercourse with wives of
individuals of ascending generations is allowed, for example, with
the wife of the father's younger brother, while among the Gilyak
this is regarded as incest.

595 At first sight the Gilyak institution of marriage does not
587 seem to be anything special. A Gilyak will generally buy one or
[583] rarely two or three wives, who come over into his clan and are regarded
before the world as his personal wives and the mothers of
[851] his children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[611] succeed him after his death. When a Gilyak becomes a father, he
[551] is no longer called by his former name, but is called the father
of the born child. The exclusive possession of his wives expresses
[684] itself in the stern custom of blood vengeance against the disturber
[614] of marital harmony. The clan is based on the principle of agnation,
[582] and marriage is exogamous.

593 One can travel over the entire territory of the Gilyak, live
601 in their yurts, and observe their family life for a long time, and
[592] not notice anything peculiar in the structure of their family. In
[352] large winter yurts the inhabitants occupy their plank beds by
families, each living in relation to its own particular interests.
Complete harmony and tender relations prevail among husband,
wife, and their children. That is not all. One may frequently
[765] encounter instances of striking loyalty and love between spouses.
When one of them dies, the other frequently lays hands on himself
or dies from grief. In a word, to all appearances we are dealing
with the type of family which is generally called patriarchal.
Actually, however, it is not. First of all, one is struck by the
strange kinship nomenclature. A whole group of women call a
whole group of men their husbands (pu, ivn), and the latter call
them their wives (an'gej). Likewise, a whole group of men call
a group of women their mothers (ymk) and a group of men their
fathers (ytk), and these call the former their children.

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601 In particular, among many primitive tribes, the Gilyak calls not only his own wife, but also the wives of his elder brothers of all degrees of kinship, as well as all the sisters of his wife of all degrees of kinship, his wife (an'gej), while they, in turn, call him their husband (pu, ivn). Their children call one another brothers and sisters (tuvn, ruf). In addition the Gilyak calls all his female cousins on his mother's side /32/(the daughters of the brothers of his own mother and of the brothers of all the women whom he calls ymk -- mother) his wives from the time of their birth. The Gilyak calls not only his own mother, but also all the wives of the brothers of his father, own and agnate, as well as the sisters of these women, mother (ymk), while they call him their son. Consistent with this, he calls not only his own father, but also the brothers of his father, his father (ytk), while in certain clans the term father is applied to all elder and younger brothers (own and agnate) of the father, and in others (among most of the Sakhalin Gilyak) -- only to the brothers younger than the father. The children of brothers in relationship to the latter are considered sons and daughters. Seemingly even stranger is the rule by which women call their husband's brothers' wives sister, while men call their father-in-law's sisters mother. A European hears with astonishment a small Gilyak boy call the wife of his elder brother an'gej (wife), while she calls him -- little husband (ychikh, pu, ivn), or as the Gilyak very often says: "I shall go to see my fathers and mothers," i.e., the brothers of his father or the sisters of his mother, but after long observation one becomes so accustomed to this strange phenomenon that he begins to consider
601 it completely natural. In spite of the views expressed in recent
835 times that a classificatory system of kinship represents only the nomenclature of ages, I can testify after long years of observation that among the Gilyak this nomenclature, based on a strict calculation of degrees of kinship, fully corresponds to their norms of sexual intercourse. Age plays no role; frequently very old men and young adolescents are included in one and the same category. All persons bound together by the names an'gej and pu (husband and wife) actually have conjugal rights to one another, i.e., they not only have the right to enter into regular marriages with each other or to have sexual intercourse before entering into a

/32 cont./

601 regular marriage, but preserve the rights to sexual intercourse
835 even when the individuals of these categories are joined in an individual marriage. Being joined in a legitimate, as it were, individual marriage, the wife at the same time enjoys the right privately, i. e., in the absence of her husband, to have intercourse with persons of the group of men whom she calls pu, ivn (husband). Most often, of course, this right is exercised by the brothers of her husband, his own or of further degrees of kinship, living with him in the same village, but even men who have newly arrived, often complete strangers passing through the settlement by chance, if they regard themselves, even by the most distant kinship, as "pu" of the given woman, freely /33/ exercise this right, with, of course, the consent of the woman. During my travels over Sakhalin, my companions from the western shore, appearing with me in a distant settlement on the eastern shore of the island, in which neither they nor their fathers had ever been, but in which, according to their genealogical information, there lived a woman of the an'gej category, freely exercised their rights, when the husband was not in the yurt, of course.
[171] This phenomenon is completely identical with what is said about the Australian kroki and kumiti, who will find a marital bed everywhere, even at the farthest points of their territory, on the condition that the husbands are kumi and the beautiful strangers are kroki.

171 In character, these norms of sexual intercourse most closely
835 resemble the same such norms in the Australian Dieri tribe, among whom the two kinds of sexual intercourse mentioned are clearly registered by the terms noa and piruari (1). Among them each woman is joined in individual, legitimate marriage to a single man, and the spouses call each other noa; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage with a whole category of men,

[113] 1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology contrib. to the Smithsonian Institute, 1885), pp. 12 f.

/33 cont./

835 who are affirmed to have the right to this by the great council of
171 the tribe. With regard to this group, she is *piruari* and vice versa. Thus we find identical institutions of marriage in tribes which are so different from one another! The famous *punulua* family of the Hawaiian Islands finds full *rapprochement* with the institution of Gilyak marriage.

835 The legitimacy of group sexual intercourse is clearly ex-
684 pressed in the fact that, while the violation of marital fidelity with a person not included in the group "*pu*" leads to blood vengeance against the seducer who has been caught *in flagrante delicto*, or, at best, to a cruel duel and ransom, for the persons of the permitted categories it leads to no retribution whatsoever, causing only some irritation, and in rare cases the moving of the seducer to another yurt. On the other hand, sexual intercourse between persons of forbidden categories is encountered as an extremely rare exception.

835 More than once I observed even cases of the *regular* cohabitation of brothers with a common wife, and full harmony prevailed
[554] between the brothers. My first teacher of the Gilyak language, a
[122] Gilyak from the village of Tangivo, Gibel'ka, the richest and most respected /34/ Gilyak on all Sakhalin, always lived in the same yurt with his younger brother, Pleun, and the relations between the latter and the wife of his elder brother were no secret to anybody. Her children regarded both fathers with identical tenderness and enjoyed equal tenderness from the latter, and, when Pleun died, all his property went to these children, publicly regarded as Gibel'ka's children. Pleun was very rich and could buy himself more than one wife, but he loved the wife of his elder brother, who in no way protested against the reciprocity on the part of his wife, who had cost him a good deal. When anyone hinted
[593] about these relations to Gibel'ka, a momentary cloud of melancholy would pass across his intelligent, handsome face, but I never saw even a trace of bad relations between the brothers.

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829 The Gilyak youths were often perplexed about why I so earnestly asked about these relations between wives and the brothers of their husbands, strange to us and perfectly natural to them, and asked in amazement: "Could it be that among you, among the Russians, it is no so? You mean one could not live with the wife of one's brother?" And upon receiving a negative answer, they would dolefully shake their heads, saying: "Well, that is a very bad law!" And they would look with disbelief at one another.

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152 Human nature, of course, is the same everywhere; even the Gilyak has attacks of jealousy, but, with regard to persons of permitted categories, jealousy never expresses itself in any kind of acute measure of repression -- in extreme cases a jealous brother will insist that his rival move to another house or to another village.

83 Legitimate sexual intercourse naturally gave rise to a general light-minded attitude toward questions of chastity; it is, of course, very difficult to find a man or a married woman not violating his reciprocal fidelity. Even the maidens do not expecially value chastity, and only considerations of an external nature force parents to look askance at the frivolous behavior of their daughters. [848] [847] Playing a role here is the fear that the daughter will become involved with a man who is unsuitable with regard to his property status, and, besides, that the child born to her will be outside the given clan and so will have to be killed.

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577 Apart from these considerations, however, there is no moral prohibition against the violation of chastity. And yet it is the greatest injustice to say that among the Gilyak sexual looseness prevails and sexual morality is absent. If by morality /35/ we understand an obedience to certain rules generally accepted in a given society, the Gilyak are distinguished by an ideal sexual morality, for, with regard to persons who are outside of the group sexual relationship, their chaste steadfastness is simply amazing. The most frivolous Gilyak woman will never allow herself to have intercourse with a clansman of her husband if he is not of the category of her *pu*, even though the seducer is younger than her husband and she likes him.

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825 The views of the Gilyak in this regard are so strict that he transfers them into the animal world; dogs caught in an incestuous act are killed, being considered werewolves.

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[829] The Gilyak speak of the Russian women who sell themselves for money with the greatest contempt. This strict loyalty with regard to persons of prohibited categories created a system of prohibitions against conversation and joking with whole classes of people. It is even difficult for us Europeans to imagine that the Gilyak man or the Gilyak woman does not have the right, not only to joke, but even to talk with his own brothers and sisters, or even with brothers and sisters of the most distant degrees of kinship, i.e., with the whole class of tuvn, because, on the one hand, familiar relations may lead to sexual intercourse in forbidden degrees and, on the other hand, to light quarrels out of jealousy in cases of permitted intercourse. On the same grounds, among the Sakhalin Gilyak, one is allowed to talk to, but not to joke with, wives of the younger brothers, because sexual intercourse with them is forbidden, and, conversely, one can both talk to and joke with wives of elder brothers, and generally with the group of an'gej (wives).

[576] Because of the prohibition against conversation with categories of close kinsmen among the Gilyak, the custom of saying hello and good-by upon arrival and departure is absent.

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835 So far, I have cited only facts. But where did these strange facts come from? How can we explain these complex and confusing norms of sexual cohabitation, and the no less strange kinship nomenclature? Even if we can to some extent explain the mutual rights of brothers to their wives, the right of a person to the married sisters of his own wife or the married sisters of the wives of his brothers is completely incomprehensible. Why is it that a woman calls not only her own sister, but also her husband's brothers' wives sister? Why does a man /36/ call the sister of his father-in-law

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614 his mother? Why, for instance, is it enough that a person from clan A, let us say, takes a wife from a completely alien clan for all the women of clan A to become forbidden to the representatives of the latter. The complex and confusing chain of these facts must doubtless be the result of the single, very simple basic fact of an original type of family and clan organization, a type which,

174 /*36 cont.*/
601 because of the vicissitudes of the clan life of the Gilyak, their
835 migrations, depopulations, immigrations, and other such reasons,
614 naturally in the course of time had to become complicated and lose its former simplicity.

174 A key to the discovery of this *original type* is the same kin-
601 ship nomenclature, which, without doubt, is a living reflection
835 of the sexual norms which were discarded or are being discarded.

582 First of all, it is clear that the kinship nomenclature ac-
614 cording to which I, a man, call the sisters of my father-in-law mother (*ymk*), while my father calls them his wives, at the same time that my wife and the wives of my brothers, both own and agnate, call one another sister, can develop only under circumstances in which *all* my clansmen take their wives exclusively *from one common clan*, and furthermore in such a way that each generation of brothers of all degrees of kinship takes for wives a corresponding generation of women-sisters of all degrees of kinship. Then, in fact, the sisters of my father-in-law will be the wives of my father and of his brothers, and consequently, my mothers, while my wife and the wives of my brothers will be sisters to one another. Under such a system, marriages between persons of aseending and descending generations (uncles and nieces) are impossible.

But which clan is the one from which all my clansmen must necessarily take their wives? This is eloquently answered by that detail of the kinship nomenclature by which I and my clansmen of my generation, i.e., my brothers and cousins in the male line, call *from birth* our mothers' brothers' daughters our wives, and conversely, they call us their husbands. It is clear from this that the clan from which my mother came, i.e., the clan of her father and of her brothers, is that clan from which I and my clansmen (the mothers of the clansmen of my generation are the sisters of my mother) must necessarily and exclusively take our wives, and furthermore, as I have already said, from corresponding generations. If my father and his brothers took for their wives a group of sisters from a certain clan, then I and my brothers must marry the daughters of the brothers of this group of sisters from the same clan. But to exchange women, i.e., giving women to that clan from which my /*37*/ clan takes wives, is prohibited: all the women of

/37 cont./

174 601 835 582 614 my clan must, in turn, go to a third clan, whose ancestresses were sisters of the male ancestors of my clan. In the kinship terminology this limitation is clearly expressed in the fact that I do not call the daughter of the sister of my father wife (an'gej), but simply navkh, and she calls me, not husband (pu, ivn), but ytk, akhmal'k. Such was the type of the primitive structure of the family and clan, reconstructed a priori from the kinship nomenclature. I did not, however, arrive at my conclusions a priori.

582 601 614 In spite of all the unfavorable conditions indicated by me which relaxed the exclusiveness of marriage within a particular clan, the old principle continues to be dominant up to the present day. Upon first acquaintance with the way of life of the Gilyak, not yet knowing their kinship nomenclature in detail, I was impressed by the persistent tendency of each clan to take wives predominantly from one particular clan, namely, from the clan of one's mother. P'fand'ukh umgu genedzh urdzhra -- "You must take your wives there from whence you came, i.e., from the clan of your mother" (1); thus the Gilyak taught me their matrimonial wisdom.

[835] Although now it is permitted to take wives not from the clan of one's mother, the terminology has imprinted an old prohibition on this group of women: brides not from the clan of the mother bear the name yokh, i.e., a woman with whom sexual intercourse is prohibited (thus, for example, elder brothers, for whom sexual intercourse with the wives of the younger ones is prohibited, call the latter yokh), while a bride from one's mother's clan is called an'gej (wife, any woman with whom sexual intercourse is permitted). 582 601 Indeed, the favorite form of marriage among the Gilyak even now is marriage to a daughter of a brother, own (preferably) or agnate, of the mother, but in any case a kinsman -- "brother" of the latter. On the other hand, marriage with a

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[192] 1. The etymology of the word p'fand'ukh is interesting; it is composed of pi (ones own, yours), pandf (kinsmen of the mother), and ukh (from). The word pandf is from pandynd -- "to be born."

/37 cont./
582 601 daughter of the father's sister is not permitted. In the predilection
shown by the Gilyak for such a marriage, the almost religious-
reverential attitude toward a custom which at one time was in-
dubitably a universally binding, religio-social requirement is
582 perceptible. Every woman, as soon as she bears a son, approaches
584 her brother, if he has a daughter, with a request for the engage-
ment of their children. The ceremony of engagement consists in
the binding of the arm of the bride with a piece of dog hair by the
child-groom or by his father (a symbol of being carried away on
dogs and also an echo of the totem /38/ cult of the dog). When the
bride reaches five or six years of age, often even earlier, she goes
to the home of the groom, with whom she grows up and is educated
until she enters the period of maturity, when, without any ritual,
582 she in fact becomes his wife. The degree to which the principle of
614 compulsory marriage exclusively with women from the clan of
one's mother is still strong may be seen from the fact that, if even
one clansman of the clan, let us say, A, took his wife from the
completely alien clan, D, that is quite sufficient for all the
women of the first clan to become forbidden to clan D, because
the fact, even though unique, of the moving of women from clan
D into A makes the first (D) the clan of the mother, into which the
marriage of women from clan A is forbidden. In this case, how-
[125] ever, "numbers" may testify most eloquently. During the census
[601] that I made specifically for the study of the structure of the Gilyak
family and clan, I was impressed from the very first days by the
abundance of married (i.e., other-clan) women in each clan who
called each other "sister" and "aunt," and not only in name, but
who had actually been taken from one clan, namely, from that
one from which the given clan had taken its women (the clan "of
the mother") from ancient times.

582 If this regulation of marriage survives to such an extent even
178 now, in spite of the obstacles mentioned by us that lay in its way,
then without doubt it was originally universally accepted, and even
if all traces of it had disappeared in the contemporary customs,
sufficient proof of its existence remains in the kinship terminology
preserved up to the present in all its originality and recreating
with extraordinary objectivity the old regime which gave rise to it.

/38 cont./

582 178 It is not difficult to understand even the *raison d'être* of this institution which at first glance is strange and confusing.

582 614 Such a binding regulation of marriage conformed as much as possible to both the basic principles of the clan and the individual feelings of the separate heads of families. The clan, at its base, rests on the principle of blood unity. In an agnatic clan this unity will most ideally be attained if all the wives of the agnates are taken from one clan close in blood and, of course, from the clan of their ancestress. This not only satisfies the *formal* principle of the unity of blood, but confirms the unity of the cult of the ancestors in *both* lines, so important in the eyes of primitive man.

If we now turn our attention to the psychology of the individual members of the clan, it /39/ fully coincides with the clan, where the sons, in accordance with the general rule, remain within the clan and take their wives from outside, it is natural that every mother prefers to have as a wife for her son a woman very close to her by blood and furthermore to assemble within her family women from that clan from which she herself comes. She cannot, however, marry her son to the daughter of her sister, for her sister is either a wife of her husband or of his brothers, and consequently the daughter of the latter is either an own sister or an agnate of her son; all that remains is to marry him to a daughter of her brother, as has become established in reality. For the entire aggregate of the women of a clan it is of tremendous interest that they are all of a common origin and feel behind them the solid protection of the whole clan from which they come.

Such a marriage (of a son to the daughter of his mother's brother is equally in the interests of the father, who thus marries his son to a kinswoman (*praplemyanitsa*) of his mother. Since the sister of the husband also desires, in turn, to marry her sons to the daughters of her brother, a mother cannot marry her daughters to the sons of her brother, and, thus, an exchange marriage, i.e., an exchange of women, between two such families was impossible, just like a marriage within a family.

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So far we have considered, as it were, the statics of the question; now let us turn to its dynamics. Let us see how from some very simple beginning, with inevitable necessity, as a mighty tree develops from a single seed, the controversial, confusing fabric of the Gilyak marriage and clan grew up.

The essence of the entire complex system of regulation of Gilyak marriage and the clan, and furthermore the key to understanding it, is a unique fact, namely, the principle established in its day that men must marry the daughters of their mother's brother, in other words, the daughters in each family belong from birth to the sons of their father's sister. We have already said something about the motives that could have given rise to this principle. In any case, its universal incumbency was guaranteed, no doubt, as the categorical imperative of the primitive religion.

This simple rule leads logically to the following:

1) Once every mother has the right to take for her sons the daughters of her brother, her daughters by the same right absolutely must enter the family of her husband's sister, in other words, /40/ every woman belongs to her first cousins, the sons of her father's sister. Therefore, a woman cannot marry the sons of her mother's brother, and a man cannot marry the daughters of a sister of his father: they cannot exchange the women of the family of a brother and of a sister. It is clear that this prohibition does not have anything to do with a fear of marriages within close degrees of kinship, because the daughter of the sister of my father is related to me in the same degree of kinship as the daughter of the brother of my mother, whereas marriage is prohibited with the first and obligatory with the second, a fact that is extremely important for the genesis of prohibitions within close degrees of kinship.

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2) Once marriages between the daughters of a brother and the sons of a sister are obligatory, once the former necessarily belong to the latter, certain situations naturally arise in view of the normal quantitative inequality between persons of different sexes, in view of such possibilities, for example, as that a brother has one daughter while his sister has several sons, or, conversely, the brother has several

/40 cont./

582 daughters while his sister has only one or two sons, or that a
595 long interval of time elapses between the birth of the first son and
614 the ones that follow, or that, which even further complicates
the question, several sisters have but one brother or one sister has several brothers: in the first case several brothers have a common wife; in the second, either one possesses several sisters, or two brothers live in common marriage with a group of sisters; in the third case, the younger brother, who reaches puberty when the elder brother has managed to take all his cousins, must of necessity have marital rights to the wives of his elder brothers; finally, in the last two cases, either several first cousins will have as common wives the daughters of the brother of their mothers, or several brothers will have as common wives several of their first cousins. We have given only the simplest cases; in reality, the matter is, of course, much more complicated. Thus, in one way or another, there absolutely inevitably arises a group marriage of brothers (own and further) with a group of sisters (own and further), and in any case the unconditional reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers of all degrees of kinship. Of course, these group rights consequently embraced more and more people of more distant degrees of kinship, for a mother did not always have brothers, or the latter daughters, and it was inevitably necessary to take wives from among the /41/ first, second, etc. cousins of the mother, and hence the union of people united by the common rights of a group marriage grew.

No vicissitudes of tribal life destroyed this group principle, even up to the present time. When in the course of time, as a result of depopulations, the dispersion of kindred families, wars, and other such reasons, there arose the necessity of resorting to marriages from alien families, these customs, inconvenient in themselves, led to the situation that we see at the present time, that a man is the officially recognized husband of one or several women and is required to share this right either with all his brothers (in some clans) or (in others) only with the younger ones, and, moreover, not only with his own, but with all the agnate brothers as well.

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582 614 3) Since in every family sons must marry daughters of a brother of their mother, and daughters -- sons of a sister of their father, it follows that from the time of the establishment of this custom all the descending posterity of each pair of ancestors in all lines *eo ipso* form a closed group, prohibited from one another maritally, *an exogamous organism*, *a clan*, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or remain in their own, either a maternal or paternal clan prevails.

At the present time, among the Gilyak a paternal, agnatic clan has been established.

4) Such a clan rests not only on the negative tie of exogamy, but also on valuable *positive* bonds, on the common rights of clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, the mutual rights of group marriage, and, finally, on the obligation to save their women for the clan that took the sisters of their ancestor.

If we take into consideration the fact that marriage regulations among primitive peoples, among whom the cult of the ancestors and, consequently, blood ties play such a tremendous role, become religious imperatives, it will become clear that the clearly indicated mutual rights and obligations cement the clan union.

In particular, the important cementing element of a clan is also the fact that all the women coming in (wives of clansmen) are taken from one clan and are either one another's sisters (own and agnate), or aunts and nieces. As for men, the clansmen, they represent in each generation a group of brothers (own and agnate) married to a group of sisters and cousins from the clan of their mothers, i.e., to their first cousins, /42/ in relation to whom they have reciprocal conjugal rights.

We have already spoken about the effects that these customs have on the kinship nomenclature.

614 615 5) The *clan*, therefore, is not a self-contained organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound up with the existence of at least two clans, blood kindred with it, one the blood clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, and another clan which took the sisters of its ancestor and to which it must give up its own women.

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615 614 The first of the latter two clans in relation to the third bears the name akhmal'k (father-in-law), the second navkh or ymri (son-in-law /zyat', "son-in-law, brother-in-law"/). All three are pandf (cognates) to one another. Thus, every Gilyak is an organic member not only of his own, but of a tri-partite, blood, tri-clan union, forming, in the literal sense of the word, a phratry (1) (phratry -- brotherhood). In this triple "brotherhood" all the men and women of each generation are actually brothers and sisters (cognate male cousins and female cousins, see below).

Specifically, in relation to each member of a given clan each woman of the second clan is either his mother, his wife or the wife of his sons and agnatic nephews, and conversely, in the third clan, every woman is either his sister, daughter, or a sister of his father. Such are the blood ties of the members of a phratry!

One can get an idea of the form of the Gilyak three-clan phratry from the following schematic table:

Clan A (Andreev)	Clan V (Vasil'ev)	Clan S (Stepanov)
Andrei + Varvara (sister of Vasilii from clan V).	Vasilii + Sof'ia (sister of Stepan from clan S).	Stepan + Anna (sister of Andrei from clan A).
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Vasilii, from clan V.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Stepan, from clan S.	1. The sons marry the daughters of the mother's brother, Andrei, from clan A.
2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Anna, from clan S.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Varvara, from clan A.	2. The daughters marry the sons of the father's sister, Sof'ia, from clan V.

[582] [114] 1. The Gilyak phratry has nothing in common with the one of Morgan, for within it mutual marriages are not only allowed, but were obligatory.

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615 614 Analyzing this table, we see that 1) all the women in clan A have been taken, by generations, from clan V, which means that Andrei's mother is a sister of Vasilii's father, and consequently Andrei and Vasilii are cognate cousins. 2) Similarly in clan V, Vasilii's mother is a ~~sister~~ of Stepan's father from clan S, and consequently Vasilii and Stepan are cognate cousins, and 3) in clan S Stepan's mother is the sister of Andrei's father from clan A, and consequently Stepan and Andrei are cognate cousins.

Thus, not only are each pair of spouses, one to the other, male and female cognate cousins, but the ancestors of each clan are, one to the other, cognate cousins. In a word, the founders of all three clans are close, blood kinsmen married to female cognates of the same degree of kinship, and each generation marries cognates of the same degree of kinship as its fathers and mothers. This is a clear example of how weak the terms exogamous and endogamous are: the exogamy of the Gilyak clan does not exclude marriages between close kinsmen. It turns out that endogamy prevailed within each phratry; each of its branches was exogamous.

615 614 178 Such was the original scheme. Time and circumstances, emigration, depopulation, the dispersion of clans, an accidental scarcity of women in the mother's clan, and other such causes naturally led, on the one hand, to a deviation from this system, and, on the other hand, to corrections, whose aim was to reconcile the old norms with the new demands of life. All these superstructures, if I may express myself thus, have quite confused the genealogical systems and the marriage norms, and, as usually happens, the categorical imperative, weakening in one respect, becomes more widespread in another. Due to external conditions, the rule to take one's wife from the clan of one's mother weakened, but, on the other hand, the prohibition against giving wives to that clan (albeit completely alien from which someone, even a most remote clansman of the given clan, took his wife has received the most widespread interpretation (on the presumption that it is the clan of the mother). From this the following has become established:

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614 Since at the present time it is not always possible for all
615 clansmen to take their wives from one clan, the clan of the
178 mother, certain members of some clan (M, for example) are required to take their wives from different clans. And so, on the strength of the old presumption that the clan of the wife of a clansman is the clan of the mother, *all* these clans for several generations become prohibited for all the women of clan M, for whom marriage into these clans is not allowed. And this is not all. This prohibition, in essence having lost its former *raison d'être*, is applied not only */44/* to that clan M, which takes wives directly from A, but also to a third clan, N, which, in turn, takes wives from M.

In the Gilyak terminology of marriage this prohibition is technically expressed thus. Clan A, giving women to clan M, is called the *akhmal'k* (father-in-law) of the latter, while in relation to clan N, which in turn takes wives from clan M, it -- i.e., clan A, is called *tuyma akhmal'k* (distant father-in-law); and so the prohibitions lying on clan M are carried over to clan N, i.e., clan A may not take women not only from M, but also from N. The degrees of prohibition, however, do not extend beyond the *akhmal'k* of the second degree.

The entire future evolution of the Gilyak family and clan lies in the history of the origin of this prohibition. In what way could this widespread prohibition arise? We saw that the Gilyak were not afraid of marriages within close degrees of kinship. This means that the reason must be some other one. As a matter of fact, in the face of the inevitability of cases when it was impossible to take wives from the clan of the mother, the Gilyak, conforming to the religious imperative, should have, in such cases, considered the most suitable clan that one from which at least the clan of his mother took wives, and, if unable to take them from it, he went to that clan from which this latter took wives, i.e., went by degrees to the *akhmal'ki* of distant degrees of kinship, just as, within the clan of the mother, in the absence of daughters in the family of the mother's own brother, he went to the daughters of the first, second, etc. cousins of the mother. Thus, the distant *akhmal'ki* clans were, as it were, *reserve* clans of the

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614 615 178 mother, but it is natural that practically it was inconvenient to extend the prohibitions to the akhmal'ki of all degrees of kinship, and it was rarely necessary to go beyond the akhmal'k of the second degree, to which the prohibition was limited. But with the appearance of this prohibition, the tri-clan phratry ceased to satisfy the new conditions of the regulation. Exclusive marriage within three clans became impossible, because in a tri-clan phratry (see the table) clan S is the akhmal'k of the first degree for V and of the second degree for A; consequently, the women of clan A cannot marry into clan S. It was necessary to add to the phratry a fourth clan, D (Dmitri, Dar'ya), let us say. The changes that occurred in our phratry consisted in the fact that Stepan's wife (clan S) would now be Dmitri's (clan D) sister, while the latter would have as his wife a sister of Andrei (clan A). Since in more distant times, the prohibitions undoubtedly spread to the akhmal'ki of more distant degrees, the phratries naturally /45/ had to consist of an ever greater number of clans. At the present time, when, due to the reasons mentioned above, it is necessary in the selection of wives to resort to completely alien clans, the phratry has naturally lost its former, strictly closed position.

It is not hard to imagine how much genealogical information one must have with regard to this complicated, confused system, in order to correctly decide, in each given case, on the right to marry of some member of a clan. And, actually, this constitutes a whole science, to which a Gilyak dedicates himself from his earliest childhood.

IV.

Some Conclusions from the Norms of Gilyak Marriage

171 601 582 I have already said that Gilyak kinship nomenclature and their norms of marriage in general do not represent an isolated case. An analogous nomenclature and analogous phenomena of group marriage are found among a mass of primitive peoples 000 in the most remote parts of the world. But the details that I

174 /45 cont./ But the details that I
582 have attempted to clarify here and the history of the develop-
601 ment of the institution which I sketched are capable, I think, of shedding light on certain phenomena of primitive marriage which heretofore have been completely isolated and separate.

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614 1) First of all, the clan organization of the Gilyak makes completely clear to us why among many peoples, as, for example, among the Batak on Sumatra, a wife or a mistress is called "a son of the father's sister" -- ibibere-ri-datang; or among the Gond (Gondy) of the province of Satpûras in central India where a marriage between male cousins and female cousins is almost compulsory when the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. These separate facts remained unexplained up to now and are, therefore, perhaps fragments of a once common clan organization similar to the one that I found among the Gilyak (1).

[114] 1. It is remarkable that up to the present time some scientists are skeptical of even the actual fact of the discovery of marriage norms identical with those of the Gilyak. Thus, quite recently it was discovered that among the Hottentot marriage is permitted between a man and the daughter of his mother's brother and, conversely is forbidden between a woman and a son of her mother's brother (exactly as among the Gilyak), while Kohler, presenting this fact, and the author of the article on Kohler's work in Année Sociologique both doubt the possibility of such norms, even though they were known to McLennan. See J. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentots," in Zeitschrift f. vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft, Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 341-342, and L'Année Sociologique, 11th year, p. 306. [113]

/46/

171 2) The norms of Gilyak marriage explain to us further the
582 strange institution among the Dieri tribe in Australia, where a
[835] great council of the tribe, at appointed periods solemnly declares which men and women of the tribe have the right to group cohabitation.

From what we have said above about the intricacy and difficulty of determining the genealogical rights in matrimonial questions among the Gilyak, questions which for primitive man have an extremely serious religious significance, it is clear that there would gradually have to develop a rule whereby the decisions on these questions ceased to be a matter for the individual person and became the function of a competent institution of elders and specialists on genealogy and marriage law.

3) The Gilyak system of marriage explains to us why among many Australian tribes the women in each clan belong to a single totem. In fact, as among the Gilyak, all the women coming
[614] in must be taken from a single clan, i.e., they are of a single totem.

4) This same system explains to us why, mutatis mutandis, every kumi and kroki among the Australians finds his wife throughout the territory of the distribution of his tribe; in reality he finds her only in that clan from which his clan must take its wives and in which every woman of the corresponding generation is his wife.

5) It explains to us the strange class system among many Australian peoples, for example, among the Kamilaroi, where ascending and descending generations belong to different classes, and only in the third, among some -- in the fourth, or even in the fifth -- sixth generation, do they return to the class of the fathers.

The Gilyak norms, in spite of all the difference in details from those among the Australians, satisfactorily explain this strange phenomenon.

615 Let us recall again the tri-clan phratry and for clarity call
614 clan A -- Andreev, clan V -- Vasil'ev, and clan S -- Stepanov.
582 Consistent with the Gilyak norms, Varvara's daughter from clan A is from birth considered the wife of one of the Stepanovs (of clan S), and, consequently, her sobriquet will be not Andreeva

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615 but Stepanova; her daughter (a granddaughter of Varvara's), in
614 turn, from birth, as the wife of one of the Vasil'evs (of clan V)
582 would be called Vasil'eva, but, the daughter of this last, i.e.,
Varvara's great-granddaughter, would have to be the wife of one of the Andreevs (of clan A) /47/ and thus, in the third generation, she would again bear the class sobriquet of her great-grandmother.

582 6) As we have seen, Gilyak marriage to a considerable extent
[601] simplifies our understanding of the complicated kinship
nomenclature, for in the Gilyak system of marriage many categories of the Turanian system of kinship, which at first sight appear completely independent, are in fact identical, such as, for example, wives of brothers, sisters of the wife, and sisters of the wives of brothers turn out to be the same persons, just like mothers, wives of the father's brothers, sisters of the father-in-law, sisters of the mother, etc.

But these are all facts of a secondary character. It seems to me that the scheme of Gilyak marriage can shed light on certain basic questions about primitive marriage.

1) From an analysis of the norms of Gilyak marriage, we have seen that from the simple, single rule that men must marry daughters of their mother's brother, there inevitably arise by natural necessity such complex institutions as group marriage, the clan, the phratry, and finally marriage prohibitions.

174 2) An analysis of the Gilyak regulations sheds light on the
583 genesis of the institution of abduction in general and in particular,
614 on the strange institution of mock abduction, an institution
615 which is practiced among such primitive peoples as the Australians
[171] and the Eskimo, and, furthermore, in such strange
forms that it is quite impossible to consider it a simple remnant of actual abduction, as is normally thought. Let us recall again our tri-clan phratry with its norms of marriage. Clan A must take wives from clan V and give up its women to clan S. We shall remember that in the primitive stages of development such obligations are religious imperatives, the violation of

/47 cont./

174 which brings the punishment of the gods. Now let us suppose that
583 clan V, from which A takes wives, has died out, or that there are
614 too few women in it, which is quite in the order of things. Clan
615 A cannot take wives in other phratries, for there each clan saves its women for the clan of the father's sister; the alien clan, even if it had extra women, cannot decide to deviate from this imperative for fear of bringing on itself the punishment of the gods, of the gods-ancestors, for whom marriages with those of other blood constitute the greatest of insults. And a similar vengeance threatens the clan who would make use of women of other blood. Marriage is indispensable, however. Two alternatives then remain: either to abduct a woman by force, risking bringing on oneself the vengeance of the gods, /48/ to say nothing of the vengeance of the clan of the one stolen, or to circumvent the law, deceiving the gods about the real intentions of one's actions, i.e., a voluntary agreement is reached with the parents of the bride and with her herself, whereby these latter appear to resist the abduction with all their strength, while the bridegroom, in the most conscientious manner, does everything required to give to the marriage act the look of real coercion.

171 Only with such an explanation of abduction can we under-
174 stand why, for example, the Australian kurnai, having allowed
583 their daughter to run away with her loved one, set out in pursuit after her and, having caught her, pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. The Australians themselves explain this, not as animosity, but as custom.

This, however, is not all. Among many tribes the bridegroom himself considers it his duty to beat his loved one no less cruelly than her parents: by this he desires to show the gods, and the gods-ancestors in particular, that the capture of the girl was in no way caused by a desire on his part to marry her.

Finally, only with this illumination on the hypothesis of the religious origin of the custom can we explain such a universal occurrence of the institution, which, in the form of mock abduction, is practiced in the marriage ceremony of even civilized peoples.

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174 This likewise explains the custom of avoiding one's father-
583 in-law (for he may not be one's mother's brother); this also ex-
614 plains why, for example, the Gilyak calls a bride who is not
615 from the clan of his mother by the term sokh /sic: see yokh on
606 p. 76/, a term meaning a category prohibited with regard to
sex, because a woman who is not from his mother's clan
originally could not be his wife; and other such phenomena.

174 Finally, this explains the universal custom of the bride price,
583 the custom of a payment for one's bride. Abduction is a sin
614 against the clan of the one abducted, a sin which demands atone-
[673] ment, by force or by a material fine from the abducter. Among
[689] the Gilyak this sin of atonement comes down to the third gen-
[682] eration inclusive. The bride price, therefore, is that same
blood-money, that same material form of atonement for a sin,
[192] as for the killing of a clansman. It is not a coincidence that
the blood money for a slain clansman and that for an abducted
woman bear the same name, tkhusind, among the Gilyak.

174 In conclusion I shall allow myself to make another, perhaps
583 somewhat risky conclusion. Let us suppose that, as frequently
happens after wars, the men of clan A who take wives from
clan V have died out and there is no one to continue the clan.
The maidens of clan V then remain /49/ without husbands,for the
parents' fear of the punishment of the gods is stronger than their
love for their children. From here it is one step to the killing
of maidens. A considerable time must elapse for the superstitious spirit of primitive man to reconcile itself to necessity and begin to resort to the deception of his gods, arranging the comedies, sometimes cruel, of mock abduction.

V.

Religion of the Gilyak

771 In his world view the Gilyak, like every primitive man, is an animist. A dead, unreasoning nature does not exist for him; on the contrary, all nature is endowed with life and reason. If the Gilyak could parody the famous dictum of Hegel, he could say with greater right than the latter that all that exists is rational.

/49 cont./

771 For him, the prototype of everything that exists is, naturally, man, as the creature whom he knows and understands best. Everything reduces itself to man: everything visible in nature is a form in which is invested god-man. With such a world view, the religion of the Gilyak represents a combination of pantheism, the cult of animals, fetishism, demonism, polytheism, etc., all of them against the general background of anthropomorphism.

772 776 The Gilyak calls the universe "kurn," but with this same word he denotes the concept of a personal, man-like god. With the word "pal'" he denotes mountain and the god -- "master" of the mountain; with the word "tol'" -- the sea and the god of the sea. The universe is only the form which has been assumed by great image of the personal god, "kurn."

823 The Gilyak calls his native island "mif" (the earth). It is a living, divine creature, whose "head" (Cape Marii) and "chin," "Pytykry," lie in the Sea of Okhotsk, while its "legs" are two peninsulas in the Korsakov okrug which lie in La Pérouse Strait.

I myself have made some trips across the "Chin," have
[782] seen how respectfully sacrifices were made by my companions
and prayers were delivered to the earth concerning our success-
[778] ful journey. I made my way up to the top of the very "Head"
of the earth, which, according to the beliefs of the Gilyak, does not leave unpunished a sacriligeous offense against it by the feet of mortals, and saw the majestic bald spot of this divine Head, covered with sharp stone teeth instead of hair /50/ (the result of weathering), which bring superstitious terror on the Gilyak... The majestic crest of the top of the high cape looking out on the boundless sea is indeed very imposing!

Moreover, the parts, even the smallest ones, of this grandiose being -- the "mif" -- are the same kind of living independent creatures as the divine whole. Here is the majestic mountain Engel'spal', which rises alone over the northern dunes; it is the living reindeer of the god of the universe, "kurn," on which he traveled over the island, putting it into its present state, habitable for man. The valleys were

/50 cont./

823 formed where his sacred feet stepped; from the lashes of his whip appeared the rivers... Here is Kryuspal', a marvelous cone, one of the highest peaks of Sakhalin, which impresses everyone approaching the island from the sea with its grandeur, a lonely, stern demon of the sea, who, in a fit of anger, killed his children and compelled his wife to run hundreds of versts away from him and form another cape in a new place. And even the lonely cliffs sticking out of the water all along the shore of the island -- all of this is alive, gods who ran away from their clans under the influence of internecine wars.

82 All the rest of nature is equally alive: the menacing "tol'"
774 (the sea), the somber forests of the mountainous island, the
776 fast mountain rivers, etc. When cutting down a tree, the Gilyak is afraid to destroy its soul and places upon its stump a special being, the "inau" (chekhn-kun-inau), soul-creating "inau" (1), which returns soul and life to it. The mountains,

[777]
[778]

1. A sharpened stick. The cult of "inau" has been borrowed from the Ainu, and I shall discuss it separately /in an untranslated section/.

the ocean, cliffs, trees, animals -- this is only a mask under which the gods conceal themselves from the curiosity of man. The peculiar profundity of this sort of metaphysical analysis by 825 the Gilyak is striking. Once when a Gilyak began to explain to me that the small kosatka (Orca gladiator) accompanying a large one in the sea constitutes in fact only the sword of the big kosatka, and I expressed my bewilderment at this, he began to prove that it only seemed [illegible] me that that is a kosatka, but in fact it is the sword of the large kosatka-"master," just as that the latter in reality has the form of a real Gilyak, and that which seems to us to be a sea animal is only the boat of this Gilyak-kosatka (2).

2. Kosatki travel in the sea in packs, within which are distinguished the older -- leaders, and the younger -- soldiers. In an attack,

/50 cont./

825 for example, on a whale, the latter hold the flanks, while the leaders follow behind.

82
771 /51/ Once visible nature is only a mask and is not what it appears to be, there is a natural tendency on the part of the Gilyak to seize upon the smallest sign having resemblance to the human body or a part of it, in order to discover the human shape that is concealed under it. Hence fetishism -- the psychology which discovers a supernatural human-like being in every object which has an unusual form, be it a high mountain, a petrified object, or simply a piece of stone.

825 If inanimate nature is capable of arousing in the mind of the Gilyak the imagining of live creatures which conceal themselves under the dead form, then the cult of animals should all the more not amaze us at all. It is generally believed that fear lies at the base of the cult of animals. Primus in orbe deos fecit timor. In fact this is far from the case. First of all, we must remember that primitive man not only does not recognize any sort of gulf between himself and the animal world, but, on the contrary, in many respects admits the superiority of the latter over himself. A hunter by profession, he has invested in his art of hunting all his intelligence, all his inventiveness, all his human genius. See how brilliant his snares and traps are, and nonetheless how often and maliciously the insignificant little beast -- a fox, a sable, and others -- will laugh at all his machinations! Dozens of valuable sables run past his trap, leaving their footprints quite close to it; they guessed the cleverness of man and departed unharmed! How sensitive is the elk to the smell of a human being whole versts away! Never, never would a single beast be caught by the Gilyak, but for the will of the gods, the "masters" of these animals, which care for the well-being of the Gilyak. If a god does not will this, dozens of man's crossbows remain without a catch. Therefore the Gilyak sees in animals beings in no way inferior to himself, even though a god may sometimes give

/51 cont./
them to him for his use. On the contrary, the strength of the large animals, and the shrewdness and resourcefulness of even such small creatures as the sable, the extraordinary sense of smell and a great number of other instincts inherent in animals and of which man is devoid, furthermore such phenomena as the change in the color of fur, shedding, and so forth -- all this provides the Gilyak with sufficient bases for regarding an animal as an extremely intelligent being in many ways superior to himself. The smaller the beast, the stranger its form, the more mystery it contains and the greater astonishment it causes with its miraculous instincts. Therefore, even such insignificant animals as the toad, the lizard, the bat, the gnat, and so forth /52/ arouse no fewer fantastic notions in the mind of the Gilyak and impress him no less than the largest beasts.

The form and dimensions of an animal are only appearances. Every animal is in reality a real man-like being, no, just such a "Gilyak" as he is himself, but endowed with intelligence and powers which often exceed those in man.

If, however, the strength, the intelligence, and the amazing instincts of the animal cause belief in the spiritual superiority of animals and the supernatural quality of their nature, the cult of some animals is caused by certain other special traits of these latter, namely, their meekness toward man and their apparently conscious protective and beneficial attitude toward him.

The bear on land and the kosatka in the sea particularly strike the Gilyak with these traits.

The bear is the strongest and the biggest animal of his taiga; all the other animals run before it in terror. With a blow of its paw it can knock down the strongest man and crush him like a fly, and yet it is generally very meek with regard to him! Actually, the Sakhalin bear never attacks a man first, and upon meeting him in the taiga either runs away from him, or -- especially in places where man is rarely encountered -- passes by him with complete indifference, only rarely rewarding him with a look of surprise (1). And the Gilyak regards it as a friendly member of a different clan.

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1. In the Ossuriysk krai, the tiger is

/52 cont./

> distinguished by the same meekness with regard to man and for this very reason is worshiped by the local natives.

The bear that awakens early from its winter sleep and in a frenzy of hunger throws itself upon a man is a crazy bear or a vagrant who has been driven away by the "master." In those rare cases when a Gilyak, while hunting, is killed in a fight with a bear, this is ascribed to extraordinary circumstances: either that it was not a bear, but a devil in the shape of a bear or that it was a female bear who fell in love with the Gilyak and who wanted to transplant his soul inside herself.

If a bear falls prey to a Gilyak, it is only because the bear itself wants it. In its struggle with the man, the bear itself offered a good spot for the fatal blow. After all, it loses nothing from it. After breathing its last, it actually casts to the Gilyak only its apparent covering, its shaggy skin, while it remains alive and unharmed as before. A few days later, at the end of the [796] bear festival, when /53/ its meat has been eaten and the bones placed in a storehouse of honor, the Gilyak kill several dogs, in whose company the bear gaily runs, with all its ornaments and presents, to the "master" of the highest mountain.

The whale-like, large-toothed sea animal -- the kosatka -- is worshiped no less than the bear on land. One would think, what could be stronger and more terrible in the eyes of the Gilyak than the whale, this tremendous and mighty monster, spouting fountains, for whom a storm is a diversion, and each of whose vertebrae is heavier than the largest Gilyak? Yet there is a beast before whose sharp, cone-like teeth the whale flees without a backward glance and throws itself with a roar of despair on the banks and the shallows of the Sakhalin coast where the Ainu and the Gilyak make opulent feasts of him. This is the kosatka. It creates an imposing impression, even on a European, when a kosatka unexpectedly appears near his boat, and the general flight of all the inhabitants of the sea begins. At the sight of this terrible beast fish, seals, dolphins, and eared seals scatter as if seized, and forgetting all caution,

/53 cont./

825 run on the harpoon of the Gilyak. Woe to the animal who falls to his teeth; he tears the great eared seal in half. The most awful sight, however, is *kosatki* hunting a whale. "Sighting him, the school of *kosatki* divides into parties. The younger ones set out on the flanks, trying to contain the whale, while the older ones remain in the rear. Having thus stationed themselves for a battue (cautiously without noise so as not to frighten the whale), they suddenly appear on the surface of the water when they calculate that the catch should be in the middle of the circle they have formed. They then throw themselves savagely upon the whale and begin to tear his body into large chunks and greedily swallow them. They all vie in particular to try to get his tongue. The whale thereupon raises a soul-rending roar which can be heard for many versts. Hearing such a roar, I always knew that somewhere close by *kosatki* were hunting a whale." Thus the zoologist Voznesenski described this terrible sight in the Aleutian Sea, and I happened to see the same sight many times in the waters of the territory of the Gilyak.

And yet this same monster before whom quake the titans of the sea, this *tyrannus balaenarum* (tyrant of whales), as he was called by Fabritsius, an ancient specialist on whales, not only never touches the boats of the Gilyak, but is his true benefactor, driving nammals and fish to him!

[825] /54/ For hours on end the Gilyak waits in his fragile little boat for the appearance of the head of a seal on the surface of the water in order to throw his long harpoon into him. But the cautious seals prefer not to appear at all, or show themselves from under the water only to dodge in a most crafty way the blow directed at them. Then, quite unexpectedly, as if specially sent by someone, seals, eared seals, and beluga begin to run onto the harpoon of the Gilyak... The *kosatka* has appeared, forcing the inhabitants of the sea to throw themselves in all directions without a backward glance! -- How, after this, could the Gilyak not consider this mighty creature, who does not spare anyone but him and, in addition, is his bread winner, sending all sorts of sea animals, his god-benefactor? And he calls this animal none other than *yz'* -- "master."

/54 cont./

825 [766] The Gilyak never directs his harpoon at a kosatka, and when its dead body is thrown up on the shore, they solemnly bury it in a balagan especially built for this and decorate it with "inau." It is not only these large beasts (the bear and the kosatka) that the Gilyak regards with a feeling of religion, however. Signs of the deepest respect are shown toward any animal that falls prey to the Gilyak. The heads of captured seals are decorated with "inau" and solemnly lowered into the sea. The heads of belugas are put out on poles on the seashore, and likewise the heads of other animals.

825 776 The animals whom the Gilyak worship, however, are not independent gods and not even deities in general; they are merely the subordinates of the real deities, the "masters" of this or that element, this or that animal. These "masters" in their form and likeness are those same Gilyak who, according to need, assume the form of this or that animal. These gods live in the forests, the mountains, and on the bottom of the seas and lead the same kind of life as the Gilyak themselves, have wives children, and clansmen. Like the Gilyak, they are mortal. For each of the elements one of these gods, "yz'" -- master, is in command. It is these masters who send the Gilyak all that he needs each season: sables, bears, salmon, 825 776 554 seals. The notions about these "masters" of each element, however, should not be understood in a strictly monistic sense. It is just the same among the Gilyak: in each locality there are simply rich people and among them one kind that is richest, just as, in addition to the great gods-masters, every territory, every stream, each has its own "master" who takes care of those Gilyak closest to him (see below on the clan gods). [614] The term "master" is strictly an everyday term. /55/ In each clan every man who is outstanding for his intelligence, courage, and cunning, and consequently richest, is called "yz'" (master), and the most outstanding of them is the leader of the clan.

/55 cont./

776 825 For the Gilyak, the most important gods-"masters" are Pal'-yz' -- the master of the mountains and of the taiga, and Tayrnadz, the same as Tol'-yz' -- master of the sea. The first lives on the highest mountain, and with him, whole settlements of his clansmen. Bears serve him as dogs. All the beasts of the taiga are subordinate to him, and, at his discretion, he distributes them to the Gilyak. It is he who orders the sable to dress himself in a new skin and hurry into the noose of the Gilyak; he, again, orders the bear to offer a good spot for a true blow. The god of the sea, Tayrnadz, lives on the bottom of the Sea of Okhotsk. He is a very old man with a white beard, who lives with his old wife in an underwater yurt. In the yurt there is a huge number of boxes with all kinds of spawn, which he throws by the handful into the sea from time to time. It is he who, at the appointed time, sends the countless detachments of salmon, without which the life of the Gilyak would be impossible; it is he who sends out the *kosatki* to establish order in the sea and drive all kinds of sea animals toward the Gilyak.

776 Besides these most important gods, there is a great number of less important ones who watch over the Gilyak. In the house of the Gilyak the master of the fire and the mistress of the threshold, keep vigil over him. Some kind of "master" watches at every stream, looking after the well-being of the Gilyak...

Not all the gods, however, are on such close terms with man. The sky is inhabited by whole tribes of *tly-nivukh'i*, heavenly people, who only rarely interfere in the affairs of the Gilyak, and then to no purpose, for a joke; for example, out of mischievousness a heavenly man will lower a fishing rod with hooks to the earth in order to catch some Gilyak. This does not always work, however. For example, the young Gilyak, Il'k, from the village of Arkovo told me that *tly-nivukh* once caught his father with a golden hook, and he just saved himself by grabbing a tree, thus getting away with only a scare and a torn coat. [538]

/55 cont./

776 Other gods distant from him, the sun and the moon, for
782 example, just like the tly-nivukh'i, interest him little, for these gods are not closely related to his life and needs. On the other hand, the Gilyak is in constant communication with such gods as the master of the taiga, the sea, and the fire, turning to them sometimes with sacrifices, sometimes with prayers. Usually both acts are joined together. For an ordinary sacrifice neither solemnity nor any special objects are necessary. The principle /56/ of sacrifice is exchange, and therefore one cannot give the god of the sea fish, nor the god of the taiga the meat of animals.

782 If the Gilyak sails on the sea and is afraid of a storm, he
[484] respectfully lowers a leaf of tobacco or a handful of rice over the side and says: "Please make the sea calm, so that I may arrive home alive and healthy." Whenever the Gilyak sets out, he takes along in a special sack his favorite objects for sacrifice, sweet herbs, sarana, and so forth -- since the gods are not demanding.

123 Some kind of candy delivered to the deity may sometime
776 stand one in very good stead. I experienced this once myself. It was in August, 1894. With great difficulties, almost without provisions or supplies, and with one piece of brick tea and some biscuits, I reached the Head of the earth. When I unexpectedly informed my companions that I had decided to betake myself up to the top of the "Head" in order to collect plants and remove some stones, my companions were overcome with panic. They adjured me to renounce my "insane" intention, which had to lead to our common destruction, offering as proof the example of two Russian seamen who had attempted to go up to the top of the small god, Lazarev Cape, perished, and were buried there. The captain of my boat, Gibel'ka, an intelligent and loyal Gilyak from the settlement Tangi, who had become quite attached to me, was especially agitated.

/56 cont./

123 "What are you afraid of?" I said to him. "You will stay,
776 be alive, go back home, everything will be fine and do not worry about me." "No, friend," replied Gibel' with animation, "that is a bad law; we have traveled together, worked together, written together, searched together for the stone ax, looked at people together, passed judgment together, and now I will go back home and are going to die here? Is such the law? And what will the most great chief say? 'Why,' he will say, did you not see to it that the "tyan'gi" (gentleman) traveled well?' He will say that I killed you. That will be a great sin. No, you had better not touch the god of the earth; he is terribly big, strong, and he can get terribly angry."

123 Seeing that I was adamant, Gibel'ka, after some thought,
776 said: "You have nothing to give the Head of the earth, such
782 an important 'tyan'ga' and yet to have nothing to give. If we give him a present and say a good word, perhaps he will not become angry." Then I remembered that a few pieces of candy that I use for slaking my thirst when climbing a mountain were left in my pocket and, showing them to my elated companions, said that I /57/ would take them to the angry god and say a good word. My companions calmed down somewhat, and I set out on my way. In the evening when I came back loaded with a collection of herbs and minerals, my companions surrounded me with joy and began to inquire about what word I said to the Head of the earth. I was forced to recite for them impromptu prayers in their national style. "Lord of the Earth, you are very big and strong and can become terribly angry. All people know you. I came from a distant land, from a most distant land I came in order to look at you; please make it so that I and my companions are healthy and return home, and do not die of hunger on the way. Please feed me well!" When, exhausted and starving, we returned that very day to the settlement of Nyur very close by, and Gibel'ka, while the tea was being boiled, told the amazed listeners about my sacrifice and about the eloquent prayer, something extraordinary happened. All the people looked with tender emotion, while

/57 cont./

123 the women rushed to their storehouse to fetch the precious buda
776 reserved for sacrifices, in order to feed me and my companions
782 and thereby fulfill the will of the Head of the earth. Thus,
thanks to the piece of candy, I, in the opinion of the Gilyak,
not only saved my life, but unexpectedly obtained for my
companions and myself a dish which we had not seen for a long
time.

782 The Gilyak also has live sacrifices, the objects of which are
dogs. A dog is killed, by strangulation, before the season of
sable hunting, during the bear festival, before departure for a
long journey, during sickness, and generally on the solemn oc-
casions of life. Before it is killed, it is fed, and at that time,
depending upon the circumstances, it is given one or another
[796] mission. Thus, during the bear festival, the dog will be told:
"Follow your bear to the highest mountain. May the master
love you. Change this hair and come down next year as a bear
[755] so that I may see you." When a dog is killed on the occasion
of sickness, it is asked to be the intercessor for the sick man
before the god to which it is being sent.

Thus the victim is a simple envoy, whose soul, after its death, will reach the master who lives on the highest mountain.

775 Clan gods constitute a special category of gods. As a
614 matter of fact, these gods play a most important role in the life
of the Gilyak, and it is most often to them that the Gilyak
offers his sacrifices. In each element there is a clan god. The
clan gods are of particular /58/ interest, because in this tribe
we can most clearly trace the very genesis of this very common
fact of primitive religion. Even among the Greeks and the
Romans the worship of clan gods was a common phenomenon.
The clan gods of the Gilyak are not supernatural mythical be-
ings, as among the Greeks and the Romans, but their very own
clansmen who, for a variety of reasons, have entered the clan
775 of one or another god "master." A particularly fortunate com-
614 bination of circumstances, if I may express myself thus, is re-
766 quired to attain such an honor. If, while hunting, a Gilyak was
killed by a bear, if he fell prey to the waves on the water, if he
was murdered or burned to death through his own carelessness,
if, according to the shaman's explanation, a woman died from

/58 cont./
775 a bear's love for her, etc. -- all such persons do not travel to
614 the ordinary kingdom of the shades, but go over into the clan of
[766] the gods-masters who took a liking to them, of the mountain,
water, fire, etc., and then become the smallest "masters"
and protect their clansmen. In this way the clan pal'-nivukh'i --
forest people, tol'-nivukh'i -- sea people, etc. took form. It
is to these gods-clansmen that the entire clan offers sacrifices.
These are not mythical gods, not the fictional heroes of the
Greek clans, but actual persons, authoritatively living in the
775 imagination of their worshipers. The genesis of the clan gods
614 of the Gilyak sheds light on another dark phenomenon of
825 primitive religions -- totemism, the worship of a certain class
of animals honored as the clansmen and even the ancestors of
their worshipers. In fact, as I said earlier, the master of each
element and his clansmen, although they lead the same kind
of life as the Gilyak, always appear in the presence of man
in the form of this or that animal, the bear (forest people),
the beluga or kosatka (sea people), so that the Gilyak as well,
having entered after his death the clan of this or that master,
also assumes the covering of this or that animal. Therefore,
that class of beasts that the chosen person entered is kindred
to the clan of the one chosen and therefore becomes its totem.
775 Since in almost every clan there are contemporaries or pre-
614 decessors who fell in a battle with a bear or drowned in rivers
or at sea, a system of separate totems for every clan could
not develop among the Gilyak. Unfortunately I cannot consider this vast question in more detail here; I shall say only
that the genesis of the clan gods among the Gilyak clearly shows
that it is not totemism, i.e., not the belief in descent from
this or that /59/ kind of animal, that created the clan gods,
as is commonly thought, but, on the contrary, it is the clan
gods who created totemism. As we shall see below, we cannot explain the prohibitions of the totemists against using
the meat of the totems for food in any way other than the
fear of killing some clansman who turned into a totem animal.

614 The religious system of the Gilyak provides many other
171 interesting facts for the explanation of the origin of totemism.

/59 cont./

614 171 as well as of the cult of ancestors, but I shall confine myself here, for the time being, to what has been said, all the more since the institution of totemism has not assumed the same sharply pronounced form among this tribe that it did among other, specifically totemistic tribes, for example, the Australians, the North American Indians, the ancient Egyptians, etc.

614 782 796 Sacrifices to the clan gods are offered periodically. All sorts of delicacies of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared by each family prior to the day of the festival, and they are placed in particular vessels reserved especially for this occasion. On the next day the entire male population of the clan sets out in boats or, in case of a disturbance on the sea, on foot in the taiga and stations itself on its clan plot of ground near its clan sign. The elder in the clan takes a handful from each dish and throws it, crying out at the same time, "chukh!" i.e., "This is for you!" After this the feasting, games, wrestling, and other such diversions begin. In the spring, with the appearance of the seals, the sacrifice for the "sea or river" man is arranged, consisting of the solemn throwing of viands into a hole in the ice. On the Amur these sacrifices are made from a boat immediately after the opening of the river; the boats are decorated with sacred shavings, and gay races in them are arranged.

796 614 628 [574] The Gilyak have a great number of clan festivals, but the most important of these is the so-called bear festival. This festival plays a tremendous role in the social life of the Gilyak. In fact, it is not even a clan, but an interclan festival. The clan arranging the festival takes on itself only the expenses and trouble of arranging the festival; the most important role is played by the outside clans invited to participate in it. Since a year does not pass without such festivals occurring in one place or another, assembling representatives of many clans for a number of days, these occasions play the same role in the social intercourse of the Gilyak tribe as the Olympics and other games once played in Greece. The winter bear-festival is called a game (chkhyf-lekhernd -- the bear game).

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796 231 [769] This festival has already been described many times, and therefore I shall consider for the most part those features that have not been noted before. First of all, it is remarkable that ordinarily the festival is generally celebrated in memory of a dead clansman, being a kind of funeral feast for the deceased. A very close kinsman of the deceased buys for money or catches for himself in the taiga a bear cub, which is brought solemnly and amidst cries of joy and music into the native village. Here a separate framework is built for it out of thick poles and spars and decorated in the corners [614] with sacred trees. The feeding of the cub is done, not by its specific master, but by the entire clan: One or another family in turn, feeds the honored guest for the duration of the appointed time, cleans the framework, and in general takes care of it in every way. On appointed days the bear is taken from its cage for a walk. This is a great event in the life of the settlement, taking many hours and giving extraordinary pleasure to young and old. The procedure of getting the bear out of the cage is quite complicated. First of all, while the bear is still in the case, they hobble its legs, sticking through the spaces between the poles thongs which end in quickly tightened nooses and are put on sticks. After this they take away a few links of the top part of the cage, providing the bear with the opportunity to stick its head out; then they put a stick into its mouth, which it violently clenches with its teeth, and at this time they very tightly bind its mouth. After this, it is calmly pulled out of the cage, and an iron ring is put on it, clasping it at the belly. Long thongs are attached to this ring on both sides, and several men hold fast to them, pulling them hard in opposite directions; they do not give the bear any opportunity to attack the surrounding people. Only then do they free it of its hobble and take it for a walk.

/60 cont./

796 231 Having bathed the bear and teased it to their satisfaction and made fun of it, they tie it between two posts and leave it alone. It generally uses this respite to give in to the instinct, now futile for it, to dig the ground with its paws for a lair.

The feeding of the bear continues for several years, until the cub becomes a well-fed, large beast, and then they begin the prefestival preparations. This means extensive preparations. For several days, one will have to feed and entertain with all kinds of delicacies, not only clansmen and villagers, but also a great number of guests from other places and, /61/ in addition, the numerous dogs on which these guests came. All this requires trouble, work, and great expense, because, besides dishes of local products, large purchases of rice, buda, flour, tea, [614] [182] sugar, and vodka or Chinese grain vodka are made. Here is displayed that remarkable clan organization of the Gilyak, so impressive in its harmonious combination of social solidarity and individual freedom.

796 621 476 There is no compulsory organ to assemble products, to compel, demand, or control. Conscious of its obligation to participate in the common religious affair, each family works with all its might, not out of fear, not from conscience, cooks all sorts of dishes, helps with the chores, and contributes its mite, according to its means, toward the expense of the purchases. The money and supplies are handed over to the master of the bear, who disposes of them without control. No one reprimands anyone, for each one strives to make the festival 796 come off most brilliantly. Several days before the festival, which is generally celebrated in February, a different kind of work begins -- the building of an arena for the killing of the bear. The arena consists of a small stamped-down plot of [778] ground, in which, depending on the number of bears that are being killed, is placed one or several pairs of sacred trees-posts hung with inau and covered with complicated ritual carving; a bear is tied between them. Up to this plot of ground is stamped a long, narrow alley, on both sides of which, in two rows, are set up 30 pairs of young trees: the first 15 pairs are fir; the other 15 are purple willow.

/61 cont./

796 The eve has finally arrived. This day is called Nau-vakhnku,
778 the day of the preparation of the inau, i.e., sticks with sharpened ends, which play an important religious role in the festival. These sticks, of various forms and sizes, represent orators-intercessors, which, together with the slain bear will set out to go to the master of the taiga and remind him of the needs of the Gilyak, and will be his talismans as well. Each kind of inau is made in pairs; each pair is spouses, so that they will be happier, and so that they will propagate and multiply. Some of the inau are hung as ornamentation on the posts of the
796 arena; some are attached to them at the bottom. While the
574 preparation of the inau takes place, the clan elder, together
614 with the master of the bear, and several clansmen ride out to greet the so-called narkh'i. These narkh'i are honored guests and play a very important role in the festival: the killing of the bear is left to them alone, to them /62/ alone is given all the meat of the killed beast and even the skin. The narkh'i are not arbitrarily chosen people, but of necessity representatives of that clan into which the daughters of the master of the bear, as well as the women of his clan in general, marry.
[606] Most often, therefore, a narkh is a son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the bear /see navkh, p. 82/. The narkh'i in turn take along their sons-in-law and decide among themselves which one of them is to kill the bear. If several bears are killed at the same time, narkh'i are invited from all the clans from which the clan arranging the festival has taken wives, so that sometimes up to ten clans participate in such a festival. It is these narkh'i whom the master of the bear must solemnly greet and lavishly entertain when he meets them, and transport them with honor to his village.

796 The following day is the day of the killing. It is called
231 Na-khan-ku (the day of the killing of the bear) or Chkhyf-aryn-ku (the day of the feeding of the bear). Early in the morning the bear is taken out of its cage in the same way as to take it for a walk. A large woven belt to which are tied bags full of assorted viands is put on it, and it is tied up near a yurt and given the opportunity to enjoy the last hours of life remaining to it in this

/62 cont./

796 semifreedom. Around noon it is untied and, held by thongs
231 on both sides, is taken for a walk. This walk, however, gives
the bear little pleasure, for from every side they tease it in
every way and try to drive it beyond patience. The bear at
first lets out some grumbling, but gradually becomes enraged,
attempts to attack the people, and gets up on its hind legs,
but it is held by dozens of hands, and all its rage is lost in
fruitless thrashing. But now, seizing the moment, the master
of the bear cautiously steals up, seizes it by the head, kisses
it good-by, and, without waiting for a return kiss, speedily
jumps away. Most often, however, the bear freely returns
the good-by kiss to its protector, who considers himself quite
lucky if the clumsy one limits itself to tearing off a good chunk
of meat and does not get its teeth into, say, an eye or the
throat arteries. A wound inflicted by a bear on such occasions,
however, is considered an expression of good will on the part
of the good-natured beast. The walk ends in leading the bear
three times around the yurt of its master. Beforehand every-
thing living, even suckling babies and animals, is removed
from the yurt; only the clan elder stands in the passageway, and
every time the bear comes around even with the entrance he
teases it with a long pole with an uncut crown of coniferous
needles at the end and speaks gentle words. /63/ At the end of
this procedure the bear is led to the plot of ground and tied
between the two trees which have been ritually decorated. The
pole with which the bear was teased is fixed to the hearth, so
that its spreading crown of coniferous needles rises high above
the smoke opening. After that there is an intermission. The
796 bear is again left to itself, while the people assemble in a
574 dense throng in the yurt of the master of the bear, where lavish
entertainment begins. They literally sit on one another's
heads; nonetheless the gaiety is extraordinary; the loud talk,
the laughter, and the jokes never cease. Only the narkh'i are
serious: they bend their bows, sharpen their arrows, and pre-
pare themselves for the crucial moment. Meanwhile all kinds
of cold viands are carried in huge troughs on dog sleds to the
sacred plot of ground; there are frozen fish of all kinds, rice,

/63 cont./
796 buda, and beans, and, finally, all kinds of the ritual dish,
574 "the mos'," whose method of preparation I have already described
in the second chapter.

796 This is all placed in rows near the bear. The clan elder
231 or the master feeds the bear for the last time from a big spoon
on a long handle, giving it a taste of each dish, while asking it
to offer a "good spot" at the time of the killing. Finally he
addresses the bear with the following farewell words: "Good-by.
I am feeding you for the last time. Go quickly, go quickly to
your master, and may your master greatly love you." Other
clansmen also try to offer something to their old friend; even
796 small children participate in this kindly affair. After the short
[562] break all the people pour out of the yurt, with the exception
of the women, who are forbidden to be present at the killing
of the bear -- otherwise it will not offer a good spot -- and arrange
themselves in fighting formation. The master of the
bear or the clan elder walks in front with a kettle and an ax in
his hands. Next to him is the elder of the narkh'i, also with a
kettle and an ax. Behind them are the remaining narkh'i, with
bows and arrows, and, finally, all the participants in the festival
follow on ski on both sides in a picturesque, happy throng.
Within a hundred paces of the place where the bear is tied, the
people stop, the master drives his ax into the snow and places the
kettle next to it; the narkh does the same with his kettle and
ax. The ax and the kettle bear the characteristic name of nich,
i.e., mine -- thine. The master of the bear and the narkh
elder exchange these nich'i at the end of the festival as a sign
796 of eternal brotherhood. When the nich'i have been placed, the
526 next to the last act of the tragedy begins: the preliminary competitive
archery. Once, when the bow played a more important
role in the life of the Gilyak, this shooting /64/ no doubt had the
character of a great competition; now, however, it is reduced
almost to a simple formality. The target is a board placed
behind the bear. The narkh'i shoot first, and after them the
clansmen of the master; the latter try not to embarrass the
guests and make intentional misses. The crowd follows with

/64 cont./

796 rapt attention, and each shot is accompanied by loud approval [526] or by noisy outbursts of laughter. After this preliminary shooting the crowd moves closer to the bear and stops a few steps away from it. Amidst the deep silence that prevails, the selected narkh steps forward, takes his bow in his hands, and begins to watch the bear, waiting for the time when it "will offer the good spot," i.e., will turn so that it will be easy to get right to the heart. The bear often calmly remains in his place, however, digging in the snow with its paws and caring very little about offering a good spot. In order to drive it out of its calm state and compel it to offer a good spot, and also to drive it into a rage and thereby lighten for it, in their opinion, the pain from the wound inflicted, they begin to tease it. The bear thrashes in all directions, throws itself at its tormentors in helpless anger, and stands up on its hind legs. Meanwhile the archer follows it with the most rapt attention and, seizing the right moment, finally releases his sharpened arrow. The bear at first stops perplexed, then clutches its breast with his paw, tears appear in its eyes, and blood appears from the throat out of its mouth. Sometimes it begins to thrash furiously, but most frequently it falls calmly with perplexed hurt in its eyes. Although, as a rule, death comes immediately, nevertheless, just in case, several people throw themselves on the slain animal and begin to strangle it to hasten its death and prevent it from suffering. After this they take the chain off the bear, carefully straighten out its fur, and put it in a pose of majestic calm, with outstretched front and hind paws; the head, turned to the west, rests on the front paws. In this pose it resembles a man stretched out on the ground, lost in thought, leaning on his elbows. The people seat themselves ceremoniously in two rows, some on dog sleds, some directly on the snow, others on ski, and there begins the annihilation of those cold dishes which were brought for the feeding of the bear. Having eaten, the guests gradually disperse; only the closest clansmen, who begin to skin the bear, remain. This procedure is surrounded by strict ritual: the method of cutting the meat,

/64 cont./

796 cutting up /65/ the bones, and so forth -- everything is done in conformity with permanently established rules. The first moment of this procedure, immediately following the removal of the skin, presents a very imposing sight for the Gilyak. The white (from the heavy layer of fat), soft body, stretched out on its back, those front paws with long and even fingers, resembling, to the point of illusion, human hands, amid the gloom of night, must irresistibly evoke in the savage the notion that he is not in the presence of a dead beast, but of a man of a particular nature, who has taken off his hairy skin and now majestically rests, following the least movement of his knife. The entire, detached skin of the bear, together with the head, is carried into the yurt, not through the door, but through the smoke opening, and down the high pole with the crown of coniferous needles, which still rises above the earth yurt. The clan elder carefully takes hold of the skin and, striking it lightly with a stick, says: "Remember that you were fed by such and such old man and by such and such old woman." Meanwhile the women greet the sacred head with a solemn
[534] march played on a most original instrument. This is a dry log of larch hung on a frame, on which several people in turn beat out in rhythm relatively monotonous sounds. To the sounds of this charming music the clan elder installs the head of the bear on the plank bed of honor, covered with coniferous needles. Under the head there is a quiver with arrows and, by its side, tobacco, sugar, and other viands.
[774] The bear takes along the souls of all these things. The carcasses of meat stay outside on a special wooden platform, and parts are brought in through the smoke opening. The day ends with eating, conversations, games of the youth, dances, and fencing with sticks. The next day is called the day of the feeding of the head. From morning until night kettles boil inside the yurt, and all kinds of dishes of the Gilyak cuisine are prepared. A portion of each dish is put in a separate vessel and placed next to the bear's head. This, then, means "to feed the head."
[372] On the same day the boiling of the bear meat begins. The meat is boiled outside in a special kettle; the fire is ignited with the sacred steel, which is not used on any other occasion.

/65 cont./
796 On this day, however, no one is allowed to taste the prepared
574 bear meat. This takes place on the next day, which is called
the day of treating the narkh'i (narkh-arin-ku). The narkh'i
seat themselves ceremoniously along the plank beds, while the
host solemnly walks among the rows and distributes pieces of
[576] bear meat. More gracious hosts feed their guests with their
own hands, sticking into their mouths /66/ a huge piece of fat;
the guest bites off a piece, leaving it to his neighbor to finish
[262] what he has started. Only the narkh'i are allowed to eat bear
[614] meat; and his clan are denied this right; they are allowed to
eat only a soup of rice or buda with the fat from the bears'
carcasses. This soup is prepared and consumed in enormous
quantities.

796 It is considered the greatest honor for the host to feed his
264 guests to satiety. His graciousness goes so far that when a
576 guest who has eaten too much of the fatty soup begins to vomit
it, the host respectfully offers his mouth and drinks the vomit.
It would be hard to imagine more refined graciousness. In
intervals between feasting, dog races, games, fencing with
sticks, and circle dancing are arranged.

796 All day the girls take turns playing music on the suspended
533 log and accompany their primitive music with humorous and at
273 times very frivolous songs. Not the least role in the feast is
played by Russian vodka or Chinese grain vodka, which lifts
[554] the gaiety of the feasters to its apogee. To make one's guests
drunk is considered the greatest honor. "At my house yesterday
the narkh'i got drunk two times," the master of a bear once
boasted to me.

796 Finally the last day of the festival comes, the day of de-
parture of the narkh'i. Carcasses of bear meat and all kinds
of viands prepared for their families and clansmen are placed
[782] on their sleds. At the last moment the narkh'i lead several
dogs into the yurt and tie them around the plank bed of honor
to the bear's skull. In addition, as a present, they put a spear,
a thong, and other such items next to the head of the animal
or stuck into it. Again, in farewell, the nark'i are lavishly

/66 cont./

796 fed, and then, exchanging farewell glances with the dogs, they silently leave. Upon passing over the threshold, it remains for them to conclude the last ceremony, which bears the characteristic name of "lymyzyn zychyvynd" -- "the stamping of the threshold." This ceremony consists in placing nich'i (a kettle and an ax) on both sides of the threshold, the nich of the departer -- on the inner side, and the nich of the host on the outer side; the departer must first step over the inner nich with one foot and then over the outer one with the other.

796 782 On this same day the last act is concluded -- the sacrifice of the dogs. The dogs presented by the narkh'i, as well as the dogs sacrificed by the master for this occasion, are led out to the plot of ground where the bear was killed and tied up to those same trees /67/ to which the bear was tied. The head of the bear with all the presents given to it, is also brought here. Each pair of dogs consists of a male and a female so they will be [778] happier on the journey. Pairs of inau of the same kind as those that were prepared for seeing off the bear and equal in number to the number of pairs of dogs are then stuck into the ground in the neighborhood of the trees. The heads of the dogs are ornamented with shavings, which are painted with the juice of berries and attached to them. Before they are killed, the dogs are fed with choice viands and are exhorted in the following way: "Go, go to your master, take yourself up to the highest mountain, change your skin, and next year come down here, come down here as a bear so that I may have a look at you, do this, come down, farewell, travel well!" After this, they kill the dogs by strangulation. This procedure is carried out somewhat peculiarly. Two men seize a dog by its hind legs and forcefully pull the unfortunate animal as far as possible away from the tree to which it is tied with a tightening noose. At that time, two other men seize the two front paws; a fifth presses on the dog's neck, accelerating the process of strangulation, and a

/67 cont./

796 sixth sticks a sharp stick in its rectal opening to prevent ex-
782 cretion from the intestines. When the dogs are strangled,
they are laid down on the snow with the same ceremony and
in the same pose as the bears. A fire is ignited; they skin
the killed animals and throw the meat into a kettle.

796 All participate in the feast of dog meat, both men and
[262] women, but only clansmen.

[766] The following day the head of the bear and his bones, as
well as the vessels, the arrows, the thongs, and so forth --
everything is transported to a traditional storehouse which
796 serves as a sepulcher for the remains of the sacred beast. At
774 this moment the soul of the bear finally sets out on the
825 journey to its "master." Burdened with the presents given to
it and accompanied by the souls of the slain dogs friskily
running alongside and by the souls of the sharpened sticks (inau),
it reaches the highest mountain where its "master" lives, who
is also the master of the taiga -- Pal'-yz'.

796 What is the genesis of this strange festival which offers to
many an amazing riddle.

796 In order to understand the idea of it, we must first of all
224 consider the fact that the bear festivals are celebrated not only
on the occasion of killing a domestic bear, as people usually
erroneously think, but every time that a Gilyak succeeds in
killing a bear while hunting. True, in these instances the
dimensions of the festival are less /68/ grandiose, but the es-
sence remains the same. When the skin and the head of a
bear killed in the taiga are brought into the village, a
triumphal welcome is given with music and a solemn cere-
[782] monial. The head is placed on a sacred platform, is fed, and
is given the same sacrificial offerings as upon the killing of
a domestic bear; the narkh'i are similarly called together.
[766] Dogs are similarly sacrificed; the bones are preserved with the
same ceremony and in the same place as the remains of a
796 domestic bear. Consequently the ceremonial of the great
825 winter festival is only the widespread ritual performed at
every killing of a bear, logically stemming from that
respectful attitude toward the bear which I
mentioned earlier.

/68 cont./

000 respectful attitude toward the bear which I mentioned earlier.
796 Furthermore, with regard to the fact of the ad hoc feeding of
231 the bear, this at first sight may not at all appear to an element
of a religious nature. In hunting, the Gilyak on some
occasions may catch young animals, and, whenever he finds
it profitable, he feeds them; thus, he feeds the fox for its fur,
and young eagles for their feathers. Similarly, it is disadvantageous
for the Gilyak to kill a bear cub, and he prefers
to feed it in order to obtain later a huge carcass of meat and
an enormous skin. Furthermore, there is nothing more
natural it would seem than to use the killing of the bear for
a solemn occasion like the celebration of the funeral feast
[825] for a close person. By the way, the feeding and the killing
of a bear is an excellent means of education for the youth,
868 who from childhood become accustomed to the most terrible
animal of their taiga, learn not to fear it, and study its disposition,
its strength, and its weaknesses. The procedure for
getting the bear out of its cage is a simple rehearsal for getting
it out of its lair.

796 Nonetheless, it is not these crude, utilitarian motives that
825 play the major role in the Gilyak's expensive, wearisome,
and prolonged care in feeding a bear. He is governed here by other motives, perhaps also utilitarian, but of a quite different order. As we have already seen, in the eyes of the Gilyak, the bear is a creature sui generis. No matter what creature is concealed under the hairy covering of the bear, a divine clansman of the master of the mountains, a mountain man, or a real animal sent as a present to the Gilyak by its master, in any case he is a creature of a higher order, more powerful, and superhumanly strong. The presence of such a being for a long stretch of time in his native settlement, according to the view of the Gilyak, who is convinced of the constant conspiracies of crowds /69/ of evil spirits eternally threatening his life and health, must be extremely beneficial. The presence of this mighty creature, like a very strong disinfectant, must kill and drive away any insidious spirit. It is not by

/69 cont./
796 accident that the death of a relative, i.e., the fact of the
825 extraordinarily malicious designs of an evil spirit, forces him
to catch or buy a bear cub, whatever the cost. That a bear
[787] by its mere presence drives away evil spirits may be seen
[755] from the single fact that during the bear festival the shaman
[756] is forbidden to consult in his dreams his kekhn (see below)
about curing a sick man, i.e., driving out the evil spirits
residing in him, for the bear will be offended; he himself
can drive them away with his own strength. Analogies to
[171] such beliefs in the purifying influence of the bear and of
many other animals are to be found in vestiges of our own
survivals and ceremonies. As is well known, in Little Russia
/Ukraine/ there existed the custom of leading a bear through
the village on certain holidays for purification... In our
grand stables the custom of keeping goats, who are supposed
to protect the horses and the grooms from evil power, has
[614] been preserved up to the present. And so, similarly, the
clan that feeds a bear performs an important social function,
securing all their own against the evil designs of their strongest, though invisible enemies. Unique religious sanitation,
but the only kind available to primitive man!

Let us consider the meaning of those ceremonies that accompany every case of bear killing. First of all we should say that the Gilyak does not consider the killing of a bear a sin. In spite of all his respect for it, he is convinced that in the first place those bears that fall prey to him are sent to him by the "master" of the taiga, for whom the bears play the same role that dogs do for the Gilyak. "The bear is the dog of the master of the mountain," such is the formula of the
[774] Gilyak. In addition, the bear loses nothing by its violent
death, for death to it is only leaving its body to the Gilyak,
while its soul -- that living duplicate -- then gaily runs to its master as if nothing had happened. Therefore no expiation whatever is required here. But the bear, even though only the dog of a forest man, is nevertheless a creature of a higher order, of a higher rank, than man. From the point of view of primitive man, there is nothing derogatory to the sacred

/69 cont./

796 beast in the notion of the bear as a dog of the "master."
825 We should remember that the genesis of the cult of animals
rests on the /70/ worship of the animal as such, without any
allegorizing. "The reason of the universe," said the Avesta a
long time ago," is governed by a dog." But, as we have already seen, according to the subsequent evolution of the cult
of the bear, in this last there may be concealed a "mountain
man," a clansman of the "master of the mountains," or even
a Gilyak's own kinsman turned into a "mountain man." Therefore one must show every courtesy to the one killed, feed its
head, generously supply it for its journey with various kinds of
provisions, not defile its body, not spill its blood upon the
ground, and so forth -- all these are the inevitable consequence
of viewing the bear as a higher creature. The importance of
the holiday, however, is not exhausted with this display of
respect for the higher creature. The soul of the slain bear
journeys to its master, that master on whom the welfare of
man depends. It is the most apt occasion for sending to this
distant lord various presents, such as dogs, arrows, bows,
viands, and so forth. All this is repayed a hundredfold.
Moreover, the bear itself, pleased by all the honors and the
food, may turn out to be useful in petitioning for various
favors from the master of the mountains.

796 From this it can be seen that the killing of the bear during
782 the winter festival is not a sacrifice to the gods, as, for in-
825 stance, Lang, a famous investigator of primitive religion, be-
[114] lieves it to be, but merely provides an occasion for the
sacrifices. The best proof is the fact that the Gilyak sacrifices
to each god only that which the god himself does not have,
and the master of the taiga has an abundance of bears. He
needs dogs, fish, tobacco, sugar, thongs, and arrows -- and
it is these objects that are given to him by the Gilyak; the
bear is merely the honored envoy who carries them. It is a
deity itself, albeit a small one, and therefore cannot itself
796 be a sacrifice. Finally, there is another important moment
825 in the holiday -- eating the body of the bear. As a general
261 rule, the greater part of the meat is given to the narkh'i, i.e.,
to the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/ of the master of the

/70 cont./

796 slain bear, but the head is always respectfully divided among
825 the clansmen to whom the bear belongs. This eating must
261 be looked upon, not as a simple act of eating, but as taking
[562] into one's body the mighty qualities of the bear. A woman,
for instance, cannot partake of the heart of the bear, which
imparts courage, a quality completely useless to her, and
therefore such eating, as aimless, must be offensive to the
bear.

796 Thus the religious significance of the bear festival amounts
825 to the following: 1) feeding the bear gives /71/ the settlement
182 security and protection from evil spirits -- a very important
775 matter if we take into account the views of the Gilyak with
774 regard to the origin of sickness and of death (see below);
2) eating the "deity" imparts strength; 3) the soul of the
slain animal, pleased by the honors, may independently and
through its "master" do good things for man; 4) it -- and this
is of the utmost importance -- is an envoy, a transmitter of
all kinds of gifts to the "master of the mountains," on whom
796 the welfare of the Gilyak depends. With regard to the last
825 point, it is important to remember what [illegible] said about clan
614 gods. Every clan has clansmen among the "mountain people,"
775 i.e., clansmen who sometime in the past fell in a fight with
a bear and were then taken into the clan of the "master of the
bear." Every such clansman in turn becomes a small "master,"
a god-protector of his clan. Actually, every clan receives
its catch, not directly from the "master of the mountains"
himself but from this, his clan god, who specifically resides
in the hunting territory of his clan. Thus, the presents sent
through the bear are actually sent, not to the supreme "master,"
but to the nearest "master of the mountains" -- clansman.

796 That is why the celebration of the festival is purely a clan
614 affair. This also perhaps explains two extremely characteristic, but puzzling facts concerning the bear festival. In the first place, not only is no member of the clan arranging the festival allowed to kill the bear, but even the clansmen of women who are wives of the members of that clan are not allowed to, in a word, none of the agnates in either the male

/71 cont./

796 or the female line; the only kinsmen allowed to kill are the
614 "zyat'ya" /sons-in-law, brothers-in-law/, i.e., persons
married to women from this clan, persons whose blood was
796 never mixed with the celebrating clan. In the second place,
614 the entire carcass of the bear, with the exception of the meat
262 of the head, is given to a different clan, the clan of "narkh'i"
and, on the other hand, forbidden to the clan to whom the bear belongs. Once perhaps even the head was also prohibited for the celebrating clan. Are these prohibitions not caused by the totemistic caution against killing and eating the body of a clansman? After all, could not the slain bear accidently turn out to be a clansman of the mountain-man clan and therefore a clansman of those who are celebrating the holiday? In such a case killing him and eating his meat would be criminal and fatal for the given clan.

But for a different clan, i.e., the clan of the "narkh'i" this is permitted, because /72/ another "master" sends bears to it, its own clansman, so that it is completely safe for them to eat the meat of the bear of an alien clan.

614 The coexistence of such norms as, on one hand, the
262 permission to kill a bear, though not personally, and to eat
171 its head and, on the other hand, the prohibition against the
rest of the meat may seem a strange and irresolvable contradiction. Among totemistic tribes, however, we often meet such contradictions. The Samoans, for example, on solemn occasions kill owls and honor them as their deified ancestors, while at the same time they do not dare to touch the meat. In the works by Spencer and Gillen we read that among the tribes of central Australia, among whom it is normally prohibited, for example, to kill kangeroos and to use them for food, on a certain solemn day two or three of the forbidden animals are killed, and pieces of the meat are distributed among the clansmen. There are many such examples.

G /72 cont./

796 An indirect confirmation of our hypothesis as to the
171 origin of the above-mentioned prohibition among the Gilyak
262 is to be found in an interesting legend of the Orochi and the
Gi Orok, whose religious views are very similar to those of their
796 Gilyak neighbors. According to this legend, a certain Orochi
171 woman was once abducted (in other words, eaten) by a bear
262 and bore two children by him. The woman was subsequently
773 often encountered by the Orochi in the forest in the form of
a she-bear who warned them not to shoot her. It happened,
however, that she was shot by accident. That it was actually
she was clear from the fact that women's ornaments were
found in her viscera, a bracelet and so forth. Dying, she
requested in her testament to the Orochi who killed her that
in the future, upon killing a bear, the ritual that is usually
observed now during the festival be observed, for any bear
that is killed may turn out to be her descendant and, consequently, a clansman of the Orochi.

G
776 Let us return to the gods. Up until now I have mentioned the gods that are beneficial to the Gilyak. Besides these, however, there are other supernatural beings who are evil and harmful to him. These devils are "mil'k'i" and "kinr'y." These beings appear in all kinds of forms and are classified according to their degree of harmfulness. They appear sometimes in the shape of a Gilyak, sometimes in the shape of animals, from the bear to the toad and lizard. They are encountered on dry land and in the sea, under the ground and in the sky.

/73/ Some of them constitute special clans of insidious
creatures, destroyers by their very nature. Others are individual degenerates, "the prodigal sons" of the clans of
beneficient beings, who only in exceptional cases become
G enemies of man. The first, of course, offer the most danger.

776 Some devote themselves exclusively to robbing the
761 Gilyak on the road (the spirits of loss -- ger-nivukh'i); others
753 ravage storehouses, snares, and traps and harm him in all
sorts of ways, while still others make attempts on his very

/73 cont./

776 life, causing sickness and death. But for them, people would
761 not die. Natural death is impossible. Death is the result of
753 the scheming of these insidious creatures. Therefore the Gilyak
will never touch a sable that died in the taiga, even though his
skin is very valuable and very well preserved, for a devil assuredly rests in a sable that has died. Just as he, the Gilyak,
lies in wait for a beast and tries in every way to kill him, so
an evil spirit lies in wait for the Gilyak himself at every step,
753 in order to devour him. Sickness is no more than an evil being
776 who made his way into the body of a Gilyak and is slowly
eating him. Nightmares and dreams in which the sick man dreams that somebody is strangling him, pressing from within, easily provide grounds for such a notion. If some organ is not functioning in the proper way, as, for example, in shortness of breath, it is easy to imagine that some kind of being has got inside and is interfering with breathing, and so forth. It is imperative to expel such a creature. This expulsion is effected in various ways, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

755 Here is an example which quite graphically illustrates ~~the~~ "psychology" of the expulsion of devils. One woman, who was subject to attacks of sudden hysterical psychosis, was placed in my presence on a high platform, generally used to clean fish, and a fire was ignited under it with all kinds of rags, canine feces, and stinking garbage. The devil inside the woman could not, of course, bear the horrible smell and prudently left the heart of the woman, who was thus saved. But not all devils are so sensitive to a bad smell; others require stronger methods. Such devils must be frightened by extraordinary noise, by frenzied shrieks, by the frightening appearance of the expeller, and by other such terrorizing methods, hence the necessity for the devil-expeller to beat his tambourine, make noise with rattles, shriek in an unnatural voice, and put himself in a state of frenzy, to which end /74/ he swallows smoke, drinks sea water, puts himself in a state of stupor with the smoke of bagul'nik (Ledum palustre), chews

/74 cont./

755 the disgusting bitter root of that plant, eats hot coal, etc. Even such strong measures, however, do not always prove effective. Sometimes the evil spirit does not give in to any human terrorizing, and not only that, but sometimes he even carries off the soul of the sick man into the kingdom of the shades. Then the aid of the higher beings is indispensable.

[756] Such aid can be proffered only by specially chosen men, by specialists-expellers, i.e., shamans.

756 776 Among the Gilyak, shamans do not constitute a class, as among more cultured barbarians. Among the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen ones, who in night visions or in a trance receive a revelation from the god-protector about their high calling. From that moment the shaman has gods-assistants, executors of his commands. These gods-assistants are of two kinds: the kekhn and the kenchkh. The first perform his most important tasks. By force or trick it is they who pull the devil [774] out of the organism of a sick man. They also carry the shaman's soul in search of the stolen soul of a sick man, making their way with it even into the kingdom of the shades. As for the assistants, they are happy spirits who play with the shaman and help him only in tricks. The kekhn are creatures of the most varied breeds: there are kekhn-wolves, eared seals, eagle owls, reindeer, hares, celestial creatures, etc. Each kekhn has his master, who himself personally, very rarely comes to assist, sending his subordinates. The kekhn are capable of assuming any form and consequently can go anywhere necessary to save the sick man.

755 The shamans have three main methods of curing. One consists of hearing the patient out, falling asleep, and then, combining the dreams he has had, giving this or that advice. Having, for instance, seen a skewbald dog in his dream, he decides that for a cure it is necessary to sacrifice a dog, etc. Another method is the ordinary method of kamlaniye normally described by ethnographers, namely, expelling the devil by means of frenzied shrieks, beating the tambourine, in a word -- [776] terror. Since, however, you frequently can do nothing with

/74 cont./

755 only noisy terror, during kamlaniye the above-mentioned
776 ukhdi kekhn are called on to help. In point of fact, calling
on the spirits is at the present time the essential part of
755 kamlaniye. The entire power of the autohypnosis which the
shaman creates in himself with frenzied shouts, narcotics, the
776 deafening sounds /75/ of the tambourine, wild dancing is used
787 to evoke in himself that high degree of sensitivity due to which
he sees and hears his spirits-protectors. We can fully believe
that he actually hears and sees them. And with his faith he
hypnotizes those around him. I hope that no one will suspect
me of a partiality for the shamans, but I can calmly testify
that in my presence the ecstacy of the shaman and the mysterious
condition in which the frenzied chosen one thrashed and
shrieked brought the Gilyak to such a state that they had
hallucinations and saw everything that the shaman himself
755 saw in his trance. The shaman skillfully has recourse to first
776 one, then another of his kekhn, depending on the circumstances.
Thus, if the devil has stubbornly settled inside the
organism and does not want to leave, the shaman calls on the
ar-rymnd-kekhn, which turns into a fiery ball and makes its
way into the belly of the shaman and from there to the most
distant parts of his body, so that during the seance the shaman
emits fire out of his mouth or nose or from any part of his body.
After being thus filled with fire, he touches the sore spot with
his lips and lets in fire, which conclusively drives out the
devil. The meaning of this device lies in the same primitive
principle of terror -- in this case, frightening with fire, which
I mentioned at the beginning. Generally the kekhn are quite
a shrewd people. Thus, when a kekhn makes his way to the
master of the sea for the small soul of a drowned man, which
lies on a bed in the yurt of the master himself, he takes along
a white reindeer. Of course, the sea people, who have never
seen such a strange beast, run out of the yurt in order to look
at it. This moment is utilized by the kekhn to steal the
little soul of the drowned man.

/75 cont./

755 776 It is evident from the following how realistic the Gilyak's attitude toward the kekhn is. A large piece of new calico (por) is spread out on the floor of the yurt, inside before the threshold, and the kekhn will rest on it during the seance. A bowl with sarana, sugar, the prized dish "mos'," potatoes, and other dainties to which the spirit-healer will be treated in the intermissions of the kamlaniye are placed in a corner on a shelf. Over the bed of the sick man, a thong is hung in a circle, and a kettle with a nail in it is placed near the bed. The kekhn binds the sick man's soul which found its way into the mlyvo (the settlement of the dead)and, clasping it under its arm, brings it back into the yurt, then throws it into the kettle, and fastens it with the nail. It must not be placed on the floor or on a plank bed, because it can run back through the floor.

755 /76/ The third method of curing is at a distance. When a man suddenly falls sick at a place where there is no shaman or on the road, he goes outside at night when the shamans sleep, throws a sacrifice to the gods, and shouts with all his might: "Chamnay, nikhovlatyngra n'ronyuya," i.e., "Shaman! I am sick, help me!" The shaman is then supposed to begin the kamlaniye quickly and sends his kekhn, and the sick man not only hears the sounds of the tambourine, but in the gloom of night even sees the form of the spirit which has been sent. Upon returning to his village, the cured man will tell the shaman, with tender feelings and gratitude, the details of the wonderful night.

756 [771] Although the shamans do not play as big a role among the Gilyak as among the natives of the banks of the Amur River, the faith in their supernatural powers is boundless even here. I was often shown places from which shamans were lifted into the air like birds by the power of a spirit and flew up to attend to their affairs in the region of the sky dwellers. I was no less frequently told of cases where a shaman resurrected the dead, killed at a distance, created trout, etc.
000 Once I myself became the object of a legend about the

756 /76 cont./ Once I myself became the object of a legend about the
123 omnipotence of a shaman. In the settlement Nyyvo, at the mouth of the Tym', I once ventured to offer medical help to a female patient of a famous shaman. Learning of my interference, the shaman not only prohibited taking my medicine, but decided to punish me severely for my insolence. Immediately after my departure he went fully dressed into the waters of the bay and began to adjure the god of the water to fall on me with all sorts of punishments. A day later I had to spend the night in an abandoned Orok shed on the lower shore of Nabil' Bay. At night there arose a strong wind accompanied by a most terrible downpour; the water began to spread beyond the shores of the bay and to flood the low area. We awoke at dawn, literally swimming on our bedding. It was necessary to build a platform and shiver with cold on it for many hours until the water receded. For all the Gilyak on the coast there was no doubt that I had borne the punishment sent down by the shaman, who, moreover, could have been much sterner, but this time spared the Russian "tyan'gi" (gentleman). It is remarkable that the death of my female patient, even though she had refused to take the medicine I had left, was charged, not to the shaman, but to her sacrilegious appeal to me for help.

177 The Gilyak, however, willingly and with full faith, are treated by the Russians, not, of course, because they believe in the power of science, but for completely peculiar reasons. "The Russian god," they reason, "is stronger than the Gilyak one; this means that the Russian shaman is stronger than the Gilyak one." /77/ And if you inquire why the Russian god is stronger than the Gilyak one, you might hear such an answer: "Behold how many centuries the Gilyak has been living here, and he still travels on paths, but the Russian arrived and immediately built wide roads, such roads as the Gilyak has never seen." It is curious that neither steamboats nor automobiles, nothing impresses the Gilyak and convinces him of the superiority of the Russian god over the Gilyak one as much as just these roads.

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756 Now a few more words concerning the nature and psychics of these strange people called shamans.

According to the views of the Gilyak, the shamans are chosen beings. Do not be a shaman! The talent of a shaman is not a gift, but a burden. In order to become a shaman, it is necessary to be liked by a kekhn, or to receive such a kekhn from one's father or uncle. Turning into a shaman constitutes a turning point in the life of the chosen one, a crisis accompanied by very complex psychological phenomena.

One shaman with whom I was acquainted told me that before he became a shaman he was sick for more than two months, during which he lay motionless on his back in complete unconsciousness. No sooner would he awaken from one paroxysm than he would fall into another. "I would have died," he told me, "if I had not become a shaman!" During these months of trial he dried up like a stick. [787] At night he began to dream that he sang shaman songs. Once a white eagle-owl appeared to him and stood near him, quite close, while a little farther away stood a man who said to him: "Make yourself a tambourine and everything that a shaman should have, and sing songs. If you are a simple man, nothing will come of you, but if you are a shaman, you will be a real shaman." He slept for a long time, how long -- he does not know, but when he woke up, he saw that he was held over a fire by the feet and by the head; the people around him thought that he had been killed by the kekhn. Then he commanded that he be given a tambourine and began to sing songs. He felt not quite drunk, not quite dead. Then he first saw his kekhn and kenchkh, and the former said to him: "If you see a sick man, cure him; do not believe the kenchkh, he has a human face, but the body of a bird; believe only us."

I myself was once a witness to the first appearance of such a paroxym. A Gilyak boy by the name of Koynyt, twelve years old, the son of a shaman, my guest, fell asleep after dinner, and, accidentally awakened by my comrad, the boy began to thrash furiously and to shout, repeating all

/77 cont./

756 the furies and all the frenzied shrieks of the shamans. When the paroxysm was over, the face of the poor boy was terribly exhausted /78/ and seemed like the face of an old man. In a dream two *kekhn* appeared to him, one a man, the other a woman; they were the *kekhn* of his deceased father. They said to him: "We used to play with your father, now let us play with you." Another Gilyak boy, Indyn, also present there, observed the phenomenon of the paroxysm with profound amazement. "Well, now Koynyt will not be a man," he said "The *kekhn* want to force him to conform to their law."

In this remark is clearly expressed the Gilyak view of the shaman as a special being, as one chosen by the gods. But, as we see, even among the Gilyak selection is not easily attained.

756 Thus, the shaman is a chosen one, a person who *believes*
158 in his power and selection. This conviction could not correspond more to his entire physical make-up, for real shamans are almost always people who suffer from various kinds of hysteria, acquired or inherited. And, as is well known, hysteria is that fertile soil which produces the gift of clairvoyance, hallucination, delirium, and obsessions. They are the individuals who most easily yield to hypnosis and autohypnosis. From childhood, the future shaman is hypnotized by the idea of the protection of the *kekhn*, and during seances of *kamlaniye* he uses any means necessary for autosuggestion. The study of the psychics of shamanism, in my opinion, amounts to the study of *autohypnosis* due to hysteria, and, of course, against a gen-
756 eral background of an animistic world-view. Apart from the
774 gift of being chosen, the shaman has another enviable advantage over the common mortal. An ordinary mortal has only one soul, a rich man has two, while a shaman may have twice as many as they. Thus, the Ady-Tymovskiy shaman, Chamkh, the father of the boy-shaman, Koynyt, about whom I spoke earlier, had all of four souls. One of these souls was given to him by the mountain, another by the sea, a third by the sky, a fourth by the underground kingdom. During my stay on the

/78 cont./
756 island, his young son, Koynyt, had two souls already, even
774 though he was as poor as Job.

774 The difference in the number of souls according to
rank applies only to the so-called large souls, i. e., souls equal to a man's body in size and during his life pervading the entire organism. But, in addition to these large souls, each man also has small souls located in the head of the large soul, after whose death the small soul turns into a large one and becomes a duplicate of the deceased one. It is of extreme interest that the Gilyak visualizes the small souls in the shape of an egg, an idea which is so characteristic of the psychology of primitive man /79/ for whom the mysterious processes of embryology lead to the idea of the immortality of the soul just as inevitably as the speculation on the fact of the growth of a plant from a seed thrown into the soil led the Christian thinker to it.

During the life of a man, this small egg-like soul
[787] plays an enormous role. It is this small soul that appears to
the Gilyak in his dreams, all that the Gilyak sees in the course of his dreams and that is accepted by him as living reality, all this is performed by this little soul.

775 But shamans, no matter how many souls they have,
776 are not omnipotent... There is a time when the mightiest
[756] shamans together with all their kekhn are powerless to help
man in his struggle against the evil spirits that reside in him. This occurs most often when a man's tormentors are the evil genii of the mountain or the sea. After destroying the body, these lords frequently carry away even the soul of the dead man. Freed of its corporal burden, however, the soul can take care of itself; it learns to escape from its pursuer and hide nearby among the friendly mountain or sea people. After some time the soul-twin, having assumed human form, travels into a new land, mysterious to us, but well-known to the Gilyak -- mlyvo (literally, "settlement of the dead"). Normally, however, the evil spirits, having killed the body, leave the soul in peace, and it may set out for the new world unhin-
775 dered. It is very easy to get to the mlyvo. Somewhere on
772 the surface of the earth there is an opening (mortal men do

/79 cont. /
775 not know exactly where this place is); the soul need only
772 descend into this opening and it reaches its goal. There
everything is as it is here: the same earth, the same sky, sea,
rivers, and forests; only there the sun shines when we have
night, and the moon when we have day. The dead come to
life and continue to live there in the same settlements as on
earth, fish, kill beasts, celebrate clan festivals, marry and
procreate. Only the material status changes: the poor man
becomes rich and the rich man poor. As you see, even among
the Gilyak the poor men find their consolation not in this best
of all possible worlds. Even in the new world, however, sick-
ness and death await man. From there the soul must migrate
into a third world, and so on until such time as the soul de-
generates and turns into ever smaller and smaller beings, a
small bird, a gnat, and, finally, ashes. Sometimes souls
are born again on our planet, completing again the infinite
[562] series of transformations. For the most part, however, that
is the lot of women.

764 /80/ Before entering mlyvo, the soul waits to be
775 equipped with everything necessary to go to the new land
comfortably and richer. And so the deceased is dressed in
his best garments and in silken robes. Everything that is put
on the deceased must be new, fully embroidered, elegant,
and durable. A man is dressed in one, three, or six pairs,
generally a number of pairs divisible by three, and women
in two, four, eight, etc. pairs.

The most expensive spears, rifles, bows, and nets are taken from the storehouse -- and the souls of all these objects set off with the deceased on his journey.

764 While these preparations for a long journey are going on, the deceased is constantly fed the most delicate dishes. Kettles boil from morning until late at night; people throng in the yurt. They eat and drink as during the bear festival, and a part of each dish is given to the deceased. When they smoke, they put their mouths to the lips of the deceased, and share with him this favorite of Gilyak pleasures. While the body of the deceased is in the house, custom dictates that

/80 cont./

764 those around him should be gay, jest, and laugh. Silence in the house of the deceased is a sin. When all the preparations are finished, the deceased is tied with thongs to a dog sled and his favorite dog is placed over him. For some time the little soul of the deceased will live in this dog. The dog will subsequently be tied to the place where the deceased slept and will be fed the best dishes, and after several months, when the small soul is once again settled in its place, the dog is sold.

Finally, the deceased is brought to that place where his remains will stay forever. Here his last bed on earth awaits him -- a high, symmetrically arranged pile of wood, on which he is carefully placed with his face toward the west. For the last time the wife, the husband, the mother, if the deceased is young, the wife of the elder brother, if the deceased was unmarried, climb up to him and weep, and then, making a sacred fire by means of friction, they set fire to the platform from all sides. When the fire reaches the body of the deceased, everyone hastens to pay their last tribute to him by throwing pieces of firewood into the fire. Even small children take part in this. Four men stand on the sides and, with long poles, readjust the firewood and poke the body so that it will burn faster and better. At the same time they [774]
break the sled, kettles, and spears and kill the dogs, which frees the souls of these objects to follow the deceased... The ashes are covered with birch bark, and of the deceased there remains only ashes, in the literal sense of the word.

[824] /81/ A tree torn up with the roots is placed over the spot where the deceased was burned.

[262] After this the people seat themselves around the kettles containing the meat of the slain dogs, part of which is eaten and part thrown in all directions. On the way back, they drop in for only a short time at the yurt of the deceased to taste the viands placed there, and then disperse.

/81 cont./

765 Several days later a small toy-house with a small door and a small window is placed on the ground not far away from the place of the burning. Inside the house is placed a doll-man dressed in silk; above it are drawn cuckoo birds, the goddesses of love of Gilyak mythology, and eating and smoking utensils, cups, plates, and chumashki of birch bark with all kinds of viands, pipes, tobacco, and so forth are arranged around it.

From time to time the kinsmen come to renew their sacrifices, but in a few months the sacrifices stop because the soul of the deceased has succeeded in establishing itself in a new place and has no need of anything. The deceased will [769] be remembered once more during the bear festival.

Such, in brief, are the religious views and customs of the Gilyak.

VI

The Clan

*614 In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on the religious aspect of the clan -- its structure as dependent on the marriage norms. In the chapter on religious beliefs, we have touched on the influence of the ideas of the clan on religious notions.

Now let us examine it in all the totality of features, tectonic and dynamic, morphological and socio-spiritual, as one whole institution regulating all aspects of the life of the Gilyak.

For this purpose, we consider it particularly instructive in our analysis to adhere to that same system to which the Gilyak themselves adhere in formulating their notions about the clan.

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*614 [192] First of all, the very term that the Gilyak use to express the concept "clan" is of interest. It is khal', which literally means: scabbard, sheath -- a felicitous symbol for a single womb, for unity of origin. As concerns the features of their clan union, the Gilyak formulate them with surprising terseness, vividly /82/ illustrating their fully conscious attitude toward the basic institution of their social life (1).

[171] [601] [197] 1. It is extremely interesting that the similar term khala /see the transliteration system for Tungus-Manchu words, p. 36/ also exists among the neighboring Tungus tribes -- the Orok, Orochi, Goldi, Negda, with whom the Gilyak have certain common kinship designations, as, for example, aki (elder brother) = aga (among the Tungus tribes), in spite of the complete dissimilarity of the languages of these peoples lexically and grammatically.

[601] If you ask any Gilyak why he considers some persons (NN) his kinsmen, you will invariably get one answer: "Of course, we have akhmal'k (father-in-law) -- one (i. e., in common), ymgi /see ymri, p. 82/ (son-in-law /zyat'/) -- one, fire -- one, mountain man, sea man, heavenly man, earth man, etc. -- one, bear -- one, devil -- one, tkhusind (blood money) -- one, sin -- one."

An analysis of this formula will also lead us to an elucidation of the content of the clan union.

1. Akhmal'k -- one, ymgi -- one: a common father-in-law, a common son-in-law (zyat'l. The father-in-law of one clansman is father-in-law to the whole clan. Each clan in principle takes its women from one certain clan and in turn gives its women strictly to another certain clan. A common

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*614 father-in-law signifies the common right of each generation of clansmen to the corresponding generation of women of the akhmal'k clan, while a common son-in-law -- the obligation to give their women to the ymgi clan. Only the men are a constant element of the clan; the women are an element that either departs from the clan or comes in from outside. Hence the whole "physiological" construction of the clan -- exogamy, agnation, common rights and obligations regarding women, reciprocal conjugal rights of brothers, etc.

Thus the Gilyak clan is a union of kinsmen in the male line, agnates, taking their wives from another certain clan, giving their women to a third, and bound among themselves by a whole series of mutual rights and obligations in the realm of marital-sexual norms.

*614 602 [611] But this is only the formal framework of this kinship union; in the flesh and blood of all the consequences that flow from it, it is much deeper, more intimate, and firmer than appears at first glance. First of all, it must be kept in mind that, despite the principle of agnation, the clansmen are bound by kinship ties, not only through the father, but also through the mother. This follows directly from the very thesis of a common father-in-law. For once each /83/ generation of clansmen ("brothers") marries a corresponding generation of women ("sisters") of one akhmal'k clan, then the mothers of these clansmen, in turn, are sisters to one another. Further, the wives of the clansmen, despite the fact that they, according to the agnatic principle of the clan, are, as it were, a completely alien element, in reality stand in a close cognate relationship with their husbands; accordingly, husband and wife, as we know, are usually the children of a sister and brother -- own or of more distant degrees -- and, consequently, they are in any case cognate brothers and sisters. Thus, the male and female element are not only not alien to each other, elements bound only by marriage, but on the contrary are intimately bound together, aside from marriage, by blood kinship. Moreover,

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*614 602 by virtue of that same proposition concerning the unity of the "father-in-law," all those women who enter the clan are agnate kinswomen to one another, either sisters or aunts and nieces, so that both elements -- male and female -- each separately and both together, are cemented together by the firm intimate bonds of kinship, which, of course, are profoundly reflected in all the social relations of the members of the clan among themselves.

*614 No influence has been exerted upon these relations by those circumstances that we mentioned, at the time, by reason of which it sometimes becomes necessary for individual members of the clan to take their wives outside the confines of one original akhmal'k clan; the general spirit and the general norms have remained the same.

But the cement which strengthens the union of kinsmen in the indestructible organization of the clan does not rest only on the formal consciousness of a common origin and kinship, and not only on the formal norms of marriage, for by themselves they are not so strong as to hold people from generation to generation in a closed hereditary union. The reasons go far deeper. First of all, there is the religious sanction, which plays such an important role in the eyes of primitive man, originally not the sanction of the clan union itself, but of those marriage norms which created the clan. [582] The principle that each man must take wives from the clan of the mother, that the wife must be a blood relative of the husband, is a religious principle, intimately bound up with the cult of the ancestors, [684] in particular with the cult of the mother. The seizure of a married woman is a religious offense against the clan of the abducted woman equal to the slaying of a clansman; the struggle for her return, or at least the demand for a ransom, is obligatory, as in matters of vengeance, to the third generation

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*614 Once the above-mentioned principle was created and became an immutable imperative of life, the natural consequence was the appearance of exogamy, and exogamy is the foundation of the clan.

But the exogamy of the Gilyak, as we have seen, is not the mere obligation to take wives from outside their clan. It gives a man a whole series of rights, which play an enormous role in his life.

We know that the acquisition of a wife is one of the most difficult problems of primitive man. There are ordinarily fewer women than men. One must pay for a woman, and to make matters worse each of the wealthy men snatch up many wives. For the poor man -- and such are in the majority -- acquiring a wife under such conditions is far from easy; frequently he must even resort to methods that risk his life. [583] [556]

The norms of Gilyak marriage give each Gilyak the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, in particular to the daughters of the brothers of his mother; this is simultaneously his religious obligation and right. [583] The bride price in such cases, if not a formality, is a burden which each one always has a right to expect his clansmen, interested, like himself, in his marriage to a woman from a certain clan, the clan of his mother, to share. In the worst of cases, until a man succeeds in setting up his own family, the families of his older brothers, with whom he shares the right to the women of the akhmal'k clan, are his family, their wives are his wives, to whom he has lawful conjugal rights. [587] [768] When a married Gilyak dies, his wife passes without any bride price to one of his younger brothers determined by the choice of the clan.

*614 587 768 These are all advantages which play a role of the first order in the eyes of primitive man. The crown of these advantages is the social privilege of every clansman of not having to fear for the fate of his wife and his children after his death. His wife and children during his life are juridically, and frequently factually as well, the wife and children of his younger brothers; they will remain such after

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*614 587 768 his death as well. One of his brothers, according to the decision of the clan, will replace him in the rights and obligations of husband and father, and even where the deceased has no younger brothers, the supporter of his family will be one of the "elders." Such is the immutable law of the clan.

*614 848 Such are the advantages which the clan union offers by virtue of the single principle of kinship and the marriage norms which directly issue from it. It is completely natural that these blessings can be enjoyed only by those who have a right to them by virtue of kinship. The fact of being born to a clansman is the only justus /85/ titulus to being counted in the clan. Ytk-khavrnd -- a man without a father, i.e., born out of wedlock, not knowing who his father is -- is a man without a clan, a pariah, a burden to himself and others. One who does not know the identity of his father and consequently does not know to which clan he belongs, therefore does not know which women can be his wives and which are forbidden and, unbeknownst to himself and others, may violate the sacred sexual norms, incurring incalculable disasters upon all. Fortunately, there are in fact no persons who do not know their fathers. If a girl becomes pregnant out of wedlock, they compel her to name the father of the future child. Having learned who he is, they compel him to marry the seduced girl, which he is only too glad to do, because in such a situation there are fewer difficulties about paying the bride price. In the event of disavowal on the girl's part, they slay the newborn child, and the clan is saved from sin and unhappiness.

*614 597 The Gilyak clan, however, did not succeed in retaining the principle of kinship inviolate and in perfect purity. Like the clan unions of all other peoples, it had to make a deviation and reconcile itself with the institution of adoption, with the acceptance into its bosom from time to time of individuals from other clans.

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*614 597 [727] This took place in various ways. It might happen that an epidemic depopulated the clan and put a handful of people face to face with all the vicissitudes to which unions weak in numbers were subject. The clan might be depopulated after a severe war, leaving a small number of men and a mass of widows spared by the victorious foe by virtue of the international law of the Gilyak. And if under these conditions there existed remnants of some other clan that found itself in a similarly helpless position and not standing in the relation of akhmal'k and ymgi with respect to the first clan, then a fusion was effected to their mutual satisfaction. The adopted individuals ordinarily married the widows of clansmen and thereby united themselves with the clan fire and the clan union. But these are more or less extraordinary cases. The most common case of adoption is that where the person adopted by the clan is a member of another clan, fleeing for some reason from his own clan and settling down in the midst of an alien clan. Long residence, habit, sympathy, assistance given at clan festivals, and, finally, marriage to a local widow lead to the final adoption. An extremely curious case of adoption is that where two persons of different clans are married to two sisters, which, according to the law, can only take place with members of one clan. The influence of the clan principle of a "common father-in-law" is so strong /86/ that the children of such persons are considered brothers and sisters, call their aunts mothers, and cannot marry each other. A fiction of clan relationships results. Under favorable conditions, when, for example, such persons live together in one village and one of them is completely severed from his clan, the result is that they help each other at clan festivals, or even arrange them together, lay the bones of the bear in one place, and, finally, in the second or third generation the union of the clans is completed.

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*614 597 [173] Adoption has played an enormous role in the life of the Gilyak. I do not know a single clan whose legends do not contain accounts of members of other tribes as the founders of the clan. I have already discussed in the first section how it happened that separate adopted individuals instead of the established element came to be the first and foremost founders of the clan, indicating that the newcomers, as the more energetic element, brought with them a greater endurance in the struggle for existence and *a la longue* /in the long run/ survived the less staunch, enfeebled aborigines who were gradually dying out. Such, it may be, is the law of a fixed supply of racial energy, which finally runs low under unfavorable conditions. The descendants of the newcomers do not escape this fate, of course; they in turn will be replaced by newcomers, if the clan as a whole is able to preserve its existence that long.

*614 597 173 Now I will add only the following to what I have said earlier. It may seem strange that a clan formed out of aborigines and the descendants of newcomers should nevertheless categorically consider its founders the former and not the latter /*sic*/. But here is how the matter is explained. Despite the fusion of the clan with the newcomer, the old feeling of kinship continues in effect. The descendants of both sides, while fulfilling their clan obligations, nevertheless do not incorporate, but continue to maintain themselves as separate groups, each keeping its own account of kinship according to tradition. I observed this more than once in those clans in which there were descendants of aborigines and newcomers. In the settlement of Tangivo, for example, settled by the representatives of a single clan, one half (the most prosperous) traces its origin from an Ainu newcomer, the others consider themselves aborigines. When in the course of time the latter become extinct -- which is already noticeable -- it is natural that the former, who will remain the only representatives of the clan, will

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*614 597 173 with full right call the Ainu their founders. And so it is everywhere.

Ordinarily, however, the composition of the clan is homogeneous, cases of /87/ adoption are quite rare, and the earlier phenomena of endosmosis and exosmosis have long effaced themselves behind the mists of legend, and they show no influence on the integrity of the conscious kinship union.

*614 372 776 2. One fire. The common clan fire is the symbol of clan unity. As among all primitive peoples, fire is a clan deity for the Gilyak. In each hearth there sits, according to one conception, the old woman of the fire, the ancestress of the given clan; according to others, an old man and woman with their descendants. The role of these "masters of the fire" is not only in the beneficial activity of the benevolent burning element. As the divine ancestors of the clan, they are held in respect not only by their living clansmen, but also by those who, having gone to the other world, have become the clan gods of other elements, the forest, the sea, etc., and through these they can exert a mighty influence in all spheres of human existence.

Thus, the master or mistress of the fire is not only a deity that warms man and protects his domestic hearth from any evil machinations of the spirits, but is also an intermediary (1) between the clansmen and all the numerous deities who influence the fate of man.

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[171] 1. In the Vedas, fire (Agni) also plays the role of intermediary between human beings and the gods; he intercedes for human beings, he is herald and priest.

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*614 372 776 782 On all the important occasions of life, in case of sickness, on the hunt, before setting out on a dangerous journey, etc. -- the clansman throws into the fire his modest sacrifices -- a leaf of tobacco, sweet root, a drop of arrack -- and asks the old woman of the fire to fulfill his request. And she knows all the means necessary to insure that a petition to one or another clan deity -- if they are outside the sphere of her immediate influence -- reaches its destination.

*614 372 776 775 In order to understand the real basis of the "clan" attitude toward the master of the fire and his functions, it is necessary to keep in mind the following: 1) the deceased are given to burning, i. e., to the common master of the fire, who can receive his favorites into his clan, so that these latter in turn become "masters" of the clan fire; 2) in particular all those who perish by fire and lightning (2) become such masters; 3) the concept of /88/ an "old woman" (mistress) of the clan fire, instead of a "master," is a faint echo of the maternal clan; 4) the "universality" of fire, its ability to spread quickly, its many tongues (tongues of flame), which all primitive people (compare the Rig-Veda) understand in the most realistic sense -- give the "fire" special advantages over the other "masters" -- namely, the rapid and eloquent transmission of messages and petitions; finally, 5) the fire is a warming and purifying substance, i. e., a substance that drives away evil spirits.

[171] 2. It is curious that a similar view exists among the Buryat: a man who perishes from lightning becomes a powerful and beneficent spirit to whom sacrifices are made and prayers are raised.

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*614 372 Externally the clan unity of the fire finds expression in the following ways. Only a clansman has the right to light a fire in the hearth of a clansman. Only a clansman has the right to take fire out of the yurt. A member of another clan who has lighted his pipe at the clan hearth may not leave the yurt until he has finished his pipe. Any [688] infraction of these rules of the inviolability of the clan fire by a member of another clan inevitably incurs dangerous consequences for the clansmen and the obligation for the member of another clan to pay blood money.

Each clan has its own clan steel, guarded by the oldest member, and only with this steel can the fire be lighted when bear meat is cooked at the bear festival, which plays such an important role in the religious and clan life of the Gilyak. When it becomes necessary for the clan to divide, i.e., when a part of the clan is compelled to emigrate to a very distant place, the oldest member of the clan breaks the clan steel and entrusts one half to the oldest of the emigrants, and only after this is the clan formally divided.

The mistress of the fire, as the representative of the akhmal'k clan, plays quite an important role in interclan relations, binding, through her cult and protection, the clan in whose midst she dwells and to which she gave birth with the clan from which she came; from generation to generation she brings into it the daughters of her brothers and their descendants.

*614 775 3. One mountain,man, sea man, etc. -- the common benevolent clan masters of the mountain, sea, earth, etc. In the section on religious beliefs we have already explained the nature and significance of this type of deity. These are not the fantastic heroes of the classical clans, not the vague, mythical beings whose clan celebrations were a simple traditional ritualism, but clansmen close to each living generation, who either died some kind of unnatural death (in the water, slain by a forest beast, and so forth) or,

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*614 775 sought by the deities, were prematurely torn from life in more natural ways, /89/ for example, those who died from longing for the mountain, sea, and such people who were enamored of them.

The beloved and chosen ones of the "master" of one or another element, upon whose bounty depends the entire welfare of the Gilyak, pass immediately after death into the clan of the corresponding "master" for a fairly long time (in the case of the mountain people, for example, up to their second death, i. e., for two generations, and during all this time, of course, they especially shower benefits upon their kinsmen, sending them forest beasts (the mountain man), or fish and sea animals (the water or sea man). And when the Gilyak speaks of some "mountain" man or some such man who feeds him, he has in mind his kinsman, who, within his recollection or at the most that of his father or grandfather, found himself, in the ways indicated above, [165] among the host of the "masters." The time span of such a chosen one is not long (two generations at most) and frequently one clansman has barely joined the gods when he is followed by a second, third, etc.; cases of death from an attack by a wild beast or on the water are not rare. Thus, the bond between the living generation of clansmen and their divine clansmen-benefactors is profoundly alive and real. Many of them were known to everyone, either personally or through the vivid recollections of their contemporaries; special monuments (1) erected by their grateful

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1. The monument of a man slain by a bear is the frame of a bear hunter, in which the remains of the slain man are kept in accordance with a special ritual (see below, subsection 6 /p. 551 ff./). As for those who drowned, a boat with all the appurtenances of sea and river pursuits is put on the site of their

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cremation, and the oars are placed upright, facing each other, in order to be noticeable from afar.

clansmen serve as daily reminders of them.

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But the bond of the clan with its divine clansmen is not limited to piety and grateful recollection; these ties are rooted in a more practical and stronger motive force -- the very instinct of self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no more indubitable truth than that all his prosperity, all that nature gives him in return for his desperate efforts in the struggle for existence, all this is but the free gift of the gods, his benefactors; without their benevolence, all the efforts of man would be fruitless. And the gods-clansmen, as we know, take part above all else in this life-giving benevolence; they are the true sustainers of the clan, and there is no weightier obligation for any clansman than to promote this benevolence to the best of his ability. That is why the clan sacrifices and festivals, held once a year according to rule, /90/ for the mountain and sea people are most important acts of clan life, in which everyone, in the name of self-preservation, considers it his most sacred obligation to take the most fervent part.

In the section on religion we dwelt in detail on these periodic sacrifices to the masters of the sea and mountains. Without exaggeration one can say that the whole social activity of the Gilyak is principally devoted to preparation for the clan sacrifices and to preoccupation with celebrating them most magnificently. Wealthy and poor man alike, according to their abilities and means, not from fear but for conscience's sake, make all possible efforts, sometimes denying themselves their last possessions, in order that the sacrifices be as ample and varied as possible and that the festivals be as magnificent as possible; this is the general interest of one and all.

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*614 775 782 796 In its evolution, this solidarity in the sacrifices to clansmen, fostered for ages, becomes the principle of the clan relation to the gods in general. When in wholly individual affairs, during illness, say, the Gilyak makes a sacrifice, he will without fail summon his absent clansmen, even from afar, so that they may enjoy the beneficial consequences of the sacrifice.

574 [775] *[614] The principle of common clan deities, the sustainers of the clan, is the foundation of the institution of hospitality and the most extensive fraternal mutual aid.

It should be evident to anyone acquainted with the institution of hospitality among primitive peoples, even if only from travelers' descriptions, that it must be based on something more than mere social etiquette or even ordinary sympathy for one's fellow creatures. The Arab, at his own hearth manifests the warmest hospitality to even his enemy, concerning whom at any other place he has only one imperative -- kill, evidently is impelled by a more powerful motive, a motive which has behind it religious dictates. And this must be said about the basis of the institution among all other primitive peoples, including the Gilyak. The Gilyak considers it his obligation to extend hospitality, not only to the traveler, not only to the actually hungry man, but also in cases where from our point of view there is no necessity whatever for displaying this feeling. No matter how many times a day a neighbor may appear at his hearth, no matter what time of day it be, the guest is immediately offered all the viands in the possession of the host, not to mention the inevitable handful of tobacco for his pipe. /91/ If there is no extra tobacco, the host takes turns with the guest in drawing on a common pipe. These attitudes are most striking in the handling of rare, costly dishes and delicacies. If you bring the host a glass of vodka, he will never allow himself to drink it alone, he will merely put his lips to it, and then it goes around to all the dwellers in the house, although there may be dozens of them, including the children, even sucklings. To do otherwise would be "a very great sin; one might die."

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000 very great sin; one might die." It is a sin not to be hospitable,
574 not to share edibles. And the reason is clear: the gods, as
688 we have seen, are the ones that "feed" man, and principally
372 the clan gods, who provide for not one man, but the whole
775 clan, which brings them sacrifices and which is bound to
them by clan ties; to eat, therefore, without sharing with
a clansman who is present and, in general, not to feed him,
is a "sin" and a direct risk of losing the benevolence of the
gods-sustainers. It is not by chance that in all this the
"hearth" plays a great role. In the fire of the hearth lives
the "master and mistress of the fire," a clansman or even
an ancestor, who does not miss a single thing that takes
place in the house; they, as we have seen, are the intermediaries
between the clan and its clan gods, and there is
nothing more natural than that the gods of the hearth should
above all be the guardians of the principle of hospitality.

*614 But the ties of the clansmen, living by the favors of
433 their gods-clansmen, are not delimited by reciprocal
476 "regaling" alone, but by the real, most extensive principle
of the community of earthly benefits. If this does not find
expression in a purely communistic form, it is only because
there is no necessity whatever for it. Life is so simple, the
conditions of acquiring food are so simple, the gifts of nature
lie so widely and freely before each person, that there is no
necessity for communistic production and distribution. Yet
*614 the principle is in full force. In the communal hunting for
476 sea animals, for example, in one boat, it is the owner of
the boat who is generally also the most skillful hunter, but
he receives no more than the last adolescent rower, and,
in addition, a part of the catch is distributed to those families
whose members for one reason or another could not participate
*614 in the hunting. Dried fish, the principal food of the Gilyak,
476 is regarded almost as communal property, and anyone whose
261 supplies have run out takes some from his neighbor without
[262] any objections. At any rate, no one goes hungry as long as
any clansman has provisions. All the hungry individual has

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476 *614 [261] to do is to move to the yurt of a well-off clansman, or even simply visit him two or three times a day, and they will share with him without a murmur their last yukola, their last handful of tobacco.

/92/ With respect to luxury articles, such as valuable spears, sabers, fabrics, fur coats, etc., there is more individualism, introduced by more recent conditions of exchange, but in cases of real necessity, such as the purchase of a wife, the payment of blood money, funerals, and so on, everyone considers it his direct obligation to sacrifice his individual wealth for the objectives of the whole clan.

*614 428 This same principle of the communality of the material goods of the clansmen is the basis of the right of inheritance, the basic rule of which is -- the property of the clansman must not go out of the clan. In this respect, the well-known thesis of the Twelve Tables is literally in effect among the Gilyak: Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento![2] In the absence of members of the family, in which the "workers" are also classed, the property passes to the agnate clansmen, no matter how distant, excluding even the closest cognates. The latter, according to the will, can obtain only the so-called shagund (1), and only

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[422] [556] 1. "Treasures" -- a property sui generis, consisting of unused objects, designated only for exceptional cases: bride price, dowry, ransom, funerals. It is divided into 1) the iron "shagund" -- large cast-iron kettles, spears decorated with silver inlays, valuable Japanese sabers, coats of mail, and so forth, used chiefly for the bride price: 2) the fur, consisting chiefly of expensive fur coats, used principally for dowry; 3) the silk -- Chinese silk materials and garments, which are

[2] [i.e., "in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir", cf. translation on p.512. – Analyst]

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worn on ceremonial occasions and
in which the dead are garbed.

such as will inevitably find its way back to the clan of the testator, so that to the ymgi clan, i.e., the clan that takes its wives from the clan of the testator and consequently pays it bride price, can only be willed the so-called iron shagund, which in any case will return to the clan in the form of bride price, while to the akhmal'k clan, the clan of fathers-in-law, only fur shagund can be willed, since it will return to the clan in the form of the bride's dowry.

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4. One bear: the common obligation of the clansmen to share in the fattening of the bear and in the bear festivals, both on the occasion of the slaying of a domestic bear and the hunting of the forest beast. "Khal'-gu, ut-gu, narkh muve!": "Clansmen, men, be guests!" -- with this summons the youths go around to the yurts, summoning the clansmen to the eating of the sacred meal of the bear slain in the forest and the viands jointly prepared for the occasion by the whole clan.

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The importance of common rights and obligations with respect to the bear festival, as the exclusive privilege of the clan, proceeds directly from what we said regarding this in the section on /93/ religion and the clan gods. As we saw, the bear festival is characterized by two basic features: first, by the honoring of the very person of the bear as a possible clansman of a "mountain" man and, consequently, a possible clansman of their own or his descendant, who had passed into the clan of the mountain masters; and, second, by the transmittal through him of various gifts to the mountain master and his clan and, consequently, to the god-clansman, their sustainer. Thus the bear festival has an incomparably greater significance for the welfare of the clan than other clan sacrifices and festivals, because the sacrifices go to the highest master of the mountains, to the chief disposer of

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*614 796 [782] all forest wealth and the most powerful deity, before whom the slain bear, comforted by the feeding and honors, will be their daily intercessor. That is why this festival plays such an enormous role in the life of the clan and is couched in such complex ritual, and why, despite the fact that guests from other clans assemble for it, it bears in essence such a rigidly exclusive clan character. Only clansmen may participate in the celebration of the festival, and as guests only "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/ are invited, in relation to whom, as we shall see, there exists the direct obligation of sustenance, i. e., persons to whom the benevolence of the gods-sustainers also extends. *614 796 182 The bear festival is as important a cement of clan ties in the social sense as it is in the religious one. The obligation to participate in the preparation of food and in the numerous expenses and tasks involved in the arrangement of the festival and the reception of guests creates the habits of social solidarity, common co-ordinated action toward a common goal, and common sacrifices for a common project. The periodic assemblies of clansmen, sometimes dispersed in distant places, constantly supports the ties and traditions of the clan union.

Finally, the very content of the festival -- the gay prefestival preparations performed jointly, the solemn meeting of the "guests," the common, noisy meals, social conversation, dances, songs, races, fencing, religious ceremonies -- all this unites, stimulates, refines, and beautifies life, giving the highest value to the clan union as the unique source of spiritual and social joys.

*614 775 5. One devil, i. e., a common enemy in the person of a deceased clansman, a slain member of another clan, and so forth.

Just as a clansman, as we have seen, can under certain circumstances pass after death into the clan of benevolent /94/ deities and become the sustainer and protector of the clan, so can the converse happen: a clansman who became embittered when alive and separated from the clan, a

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*614 775 clansman who was not avenged or did not receive the honors of the funeral ritual and therefore did not enter the "settlement of the dead," can pass into the clan of the evil deities or simply revenge himself on the clan however he can, on his own responsibility and risk. The same can happen with an offended member of another clan. The struggle with such foes of the clan or their placation is as urgent a requirement for all clansmen as the satisfying of the clan deities protectors. Thus there arise common obligations with respect to the compensation of the shaman for his labors and dangers in the struggle with such foes, or common expenses and labors for placation, gift-giving, vengeance, payment of blood money, etc.

*614 628 6. One tkhusind -- common blood-money, ransom, fine; in the broad sense the mutual guarantee of the whole clan against any encroachment on the rights of a clansman by a member of another clan, and vice versa. By the tkhusind is understood not only the ransom obtained or paid by the clan in matters of vengeance, but also that which is exacted for every possible reason -- from the most serious to the most trifling. Thus, the tkhusind is exacted for the abduction of a woman, for an injury to a woman's honor, for the profanation of holy things, for example, the defilement of the hearth, the violation of a taboo at the bear festival, for theft, etc. In all such situations the mutual guarantee, both for the defense of a right violated by a member of another clan and in answer to a similar violation of a right of the latter by a kinsman, is incumbent on the clan. The ransom, however, is only a recent corrective of a weightier principle -- that of the clan defense, by force, of an injured right of a clansman. At the center of this entire institution lies the principle of blood revenge, the principle of a life for a life or for injured honor (for example, in the detection of a seducer in flagrante delicto).

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As among all nearly primitive peoples, murder within the clan among the Gilyak goes unpunished (1). The clan cannot shed the blood of a kinsman, which is the blood of an ancestor. This is not only a religious principle, but a dictate of self-preservation, a categorical imperative of the existence of the clan itself. The strength of the latter is in its numbers and internal peace, while every incident of vengeance within the clan would inevitably be the cause of /95/ new vengeance by the closest kinsmen of the punished man and would thus lead to endless internal war, which would end in the physical and moral destruction of the clan.

Murder and any serious infraction of rights and laws by a clansman do not go completely unpunished, however; in fact, it invites political death, since the criminal is compelled to leave the clan and move to a distant village, thus being deprived not only of all the benefits of the clan union during his lifetime, but of still weightier ones after his death, since the privilege of cremation is extended only to clansmen. In general, however, slayings within the clan are extremely rare; the many speech prohibitions among clansmen discourage the causes for quarrels and irritation, while the extensive communal conjugal rights weaken the fits of jealousy and make superfluous the abduction of women, which is the most frequent cause of bloody disputes and vengeance. Thus, the very practice of life cannot favor the institution of vengeance within the clan.

1. In clans that have combined with Ainu, who retain maternality, in cases of murder within the clan the brother of the mother of the slain man and the closest agnate of the latter (father, brother) obtain the ransom, which they divide in half.

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*614 628 It is quite another matter between men of different clans. Here the principle is implacable: the bones of the clansman must be raised! To raise the bones is the technical term for clan vengeance. Blood must be redeemed with blood, and only in very rare cases can blood redemption be replaced by ransom. This obligation is clearly colored more by a religious than an emotional element. Vengeance is obligatory not only for the contemporaries of the slain man, but, in the event of its non-fulfillment by them, for the two following generations as well. [672] It is obligatory not only in the case of premeditated murder, but for completely accidental murder as well, even one which is only indirectly connected with one or another person (1). *614 825 672 And what is still more instructive, it is obligatory also with respect to animals. Vengeance upon a bear who has killed a man is no less wrathful than it is with regard to a human murderer.

The ritual of such vengeance is extremely characteristic for understanding the psychology of this clan institution, and we shall begin our analysis with it. As soon as the news of a man's death in a struggle with a bear arrives, the whole adult population hastens into the taiga, in order to catch up with the "murderer" by means of his fresh tracks. If they do not succeed /96/ in catching the real culprit, it is necessary to kill at least three other bears (his "clansmen"). If this is not accomplished during the winter, it is necessary to do it during the summer, and in addition the "mountain man" gives them a "tkhusind," in the form of a plentiful catch of every beast.

1. One Gilyak of my acquaintance brought vengeance upon his clan when his rifle accidentally went off when he picked it up from the bottom of a boat, accidentally killing the helmsman.

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*614 825 672 766 But if they are lucky enough to overtake the bear-"murderer" or his "clansman," they wreak upon him their most extreme wrath. As their first responsibility they knock out his teeth with an ax, and, while they are skinning him, they stab him with knives from all sides and heap on him the choicest verbal abuse. Having stripped off the bear skin, they wrap the body of the murdered man in it (if his body has remained uneaten; otherwise it is replaced by a half-length representation in wood) and, seating him in a squatting position on the sled, place the bear head under his seat, and in this way, with loud howls mixed with exclamations in honor of the murdered man and in deprecation of his murderer, they bear him to the settlement. If the bear has not been found, they place under the seat of the dead man a half-length representation of a bear, while the body is arrayed in a cloak of shavings (1). Not far from the

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1. Shavings are regarded by the Gilyak as sacred, as an object of magical power. The cult of the sharpened pieces of wood (inau; see the section on religion) plays an enormous role in the religion of the Gilyak. Ordinarily they bury chosen ones in cloaks of shavings. Such an honor, for example, is accorded to the mother of twins or triplets, who is regarded as a being of a higher order. Among the poor this finery takes the place of the magnificent traditional funeral garments of Chinese silk, which causes one to think that at a remote period garments of shavings were generally used and that antiquity has invested them with a halo of sanctity.

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native village a framework in the likeness of a bear hunter is set up, with openings for the proper sacrifices. On the outside, at the corners, four sharpened saplings are set up, while it is decorated on the inside with the sacred inau. Here are also deposited the remains of the murdered man and his murderer, in the same position in which they were brought from the taiga, as we described above.

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A unique funeral feast with the carcass of the slain bear is held beside this framework. On both sides of a long uninterrupted campfire sit the clansmen with large pieces of bear meat in their hands. Each one cuts the meat into thin pieces, and as each piece is cut off he throws it from his knife across the fire to the one sitting on the opposite side of the campfire. The slice, caught on a knife, is slowly roasted in the fire (the greatest insult for the bear, whose meat may only be boiled), and then with a look of revulsion they each bite off a piece and scornfully throw the meat away, although ordinarily it is /97/ considered a great sin to let even the smallest piece of bone fall to the ground.

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After this procedure of "refined" revenge, a feast with sacrifices to the master of the mountains and the murdered man begins. First they throw into the fire the carcass, which has begun to be burned, then various viands. At night they place a guard of two men with spears over the framework, lest the spirit of the bear wish to take revenge. The sentries firmly assert in such instances that they heard the cries of the murdered man, "Ai, Bear!" and threw themselves with spears upon the invisible avenger. In the morning they will tell you, traces of blood are clearly visible on the points of the spears...

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With the end of the funeral feast, peace between the mountain men and the clan of the murdered man has been restored. The latter is accepted and will live to a ripe old age in the clan of the mountain people, while his clansmen for three generations will twice a year (summer and winter) make sacrifices: part to the master of the mountain, part to the divine clansman.

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If revenge is sanctified with respect to the bear, a divine being upon whom welfare depends and who frequently slays a man, not out of malice, but out of love for him, and accepts him into his clan, then revenge with respect to a member of another clan is all the more obligatory.

We have already indicated in the beginning the domination of religious over emotional motives in the imperative of revenge. If vengeance is obligatory to the third generation, if it is obligatory with respect to an accidental slayer, to a friend, a cognate, it is a burden pressing down on the clan rather than an impulsive act inspired by the immediate reaction of anger.

A much more significant rôle, at least in the sense of the strengthening, so to speak, of this original reaction, is played by compassion for the soul of the slain man and fear of it and the clan gods, gods who keep a loving vigil and for whom the unavenged blood of a clansman is undoubtedly the greatest insult.

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The soul of a man who died a violent death cannot migrate to the general "settlement of the dead," where it could continue the life it lived on earth. Until it is avenged, until the blood of the slayer gives it the power to raise its bones, it cannot leave the earth and is forced to circle in the air in the form of a bird-avenger, emitting terrible shrieks at night. Its end is frightful; gradually rotting, it finally falls to earth "as ashes," dying forever. The Gilyak call this bird takhch; it is a gray bird with a red beak, "loving war." In this epithet is probably also contained the origin of the belief in the bird-avenger: among the Gilyak war is exclusively /98/ the result of revenge, and, consequently, the birds of prey, "loving war," are obviously the souls of slain clansmen. Over the grave of the slain man, as a fearful memento, they place a stump with the torn-up roots upward (1), to which they

[764]

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1. Over the graves of those who have died a natural death, the roots are customarily downward.

/98 cont./

775 766 give the appearance of a bird. Sometimes this bird is represented with iron teeth and appendages in the likeness of human feet (2), as in some representations of the swastika.

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2. An example of such a memorial, brought from the lower regions of the Amur by the late acad. L. Schrenck, is preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.

775 628 *614 This frightful and at the same time unhappy bird, seeking consolation and return to the kingdom of its departed clansmen, wails of revenge at night and, of course, is quite capable of terribly avenging itself upon its clansmen who have forgotten their obligations.

Even where the affair ends with the payment of ransom, the bird remains unreconciled. Still another peace offering is necessary in the form of a dog, whose heart is given to the bird; otherwise it will take a cruel vengeance on both sides.

Since the soul of the slain man, like every other human soul, cannot exist longer than three generations, the obligations of revenge cease with the third generation. But until that time the pitiful fate of the soul of the slain man continues to torment the conscience of his clansmen and frighten them with the horrors of unfulfilled vengeance, giving them no rest. These same motives are predominant over the immediate instinct for repayment. That is why the wrath of the avengers never reaches to the destruction of the whole clan of the slayer, limiting itself to one, or two or three, of his clansmen; they carefully avoid the slaying of women and absolutely abstain from encroachment on property.

Nevertheless the imperative of vengeance is extremely intensive.

/98 cont./

*614 628 The news of a slaying in one moment unites all the clansmen into a unanimous whole, acting with feverish energy. A similar fever is manifested willy-nilly by the clan of the slayer. For the latter clan the matter is not merely one of protecting the slayer -- one man can always easily hide and await a peaceful solution of the conflict -- but one of protecting the whole clan, every clansman, for whom insidious attack lurks in every corner at all times and in every place at the hands of the avengers who are feverishly tracking down their victim. For them it is not necessarily the slayer that matters, but every male representative of his clan, even if he /99/ be a suckling babe. That is why mothers, in order to save their male children, at a moment of unavoidable danger are ready to resort to the most frightful expedients in order to disguise the sex of the youngster.

It is not difficult to imagine what both sides go through until the end of the conflict.

*614 627 628 The most felicitous situation is when the representatives of both hostile clans live in the same settlement. In that case at least there is none of the torment of waiting. The affair is settled by armed conflict immediately after the slaying. The closest kinsman of the slain man, in the company of several armed clansmen, hastens toward the yurts of the clan of the slayer and attacks the first man he meets, to whose defense his clansmen immediately come forward, and then follows a general melee, which ends in several hours, and, if an equal number of victims fell on both sides, the incident is closed. There is also a more felicitous outcome when the representatives of a third clan living in the same settlement intervene in the affair, seeking, frequently not without success, to separate the foes and terminate the matter peacefully.

/99 cont./

*614 If the clans live in different settlements, however,
628 there arises a state of war with all its consequences.
772 Moreover, if the villages are located near each other, they place themselves in a full state of siege. There can be no question of routine activities outside the house; there can be no hunting or fishing, for an ambuscade may lie in wait at every corner. In extreme cases the men dare not leave their homes other than with women in front, ferreting in every bush, tramping down the grass, everywhere fearing an ambush. But these can only be palliatives; one fine night it will be necessary to meet the foe face to face in one's own settlement. Finally, where the warring clans live far from each other, it becomes necessary to undertake long expeditions on foot or in boats. This must be an imposing spectacle, when the multitude of warriors, dressed in their finest garments, with glittering spears in their hands and quivers on their backs, with knives and Japanese daggers in their belts, wrathfully brandishing their arms, make the primeval taiga resound with their wailing for revenge and appeal to the gods of all the elements for assistance:

Pal'- khurn myyá! Tly - khurn myyá!
Tol' - khurn myyá! Mif - khurn myyá!

"God of the mountain, hearken; god of the sea, hearken; god of the heavens, hearken; god of the earth, hearken!" -- brandishing their spears and thrusting them at /100/ every tree on their path with the cry: "Chkhar, myyá! -- O tree, hearken!"... But this exuberant mood soon gives way to a more subdued temper; as they draw closer to the enemy settlement, their enthusiasm is transformed into a concentrated seriousness.

The foe has taken his precautions; in his native territory he is more familiar with all the best places for an ambush, and at strategic points he lies in wait in artificial trenches ("little pits"), from which he pours a hail of arrows on the unwary enemy. There is also no lack

/100 cont./

*614 628 72 of other obstacles in the path of the attackers. In hostile territory all hunting is dangerous (in many clans it is even prohibited, while some also forbid the use of water from the rivers and springs); the supplies brought from home do not last long, while an open, sudden attack -- bearing in mind ambushes and the impunity of the women's sentry duty -- is not always possible. With long patience and severe deprivations they must await the favorable moment or else in desperation resolve to take any risk.

[562] Most frequently the defenders prefer to await the attack in their own settlement. Then, abandoning the female population, which enjoys inviolability, the men gather in a separate yurt, from which, at the guards' first signal of the approach of the foe, they steal through secret passages and gather together beyond the yurts, ready to meet the foe. In accordance with interclan customs, the battle continues through one night or at most twenty-four hours, until, finally, fatalities occur, after which the enemy departs, and the survivors count the number of fallen men on each side. If the defenders have lost a greater number than the opposite side, a new casus belli arises. The attackers must in any case consider themselves satisfied. But the affair does not always end with a few victims. Instances are known where a whole clan perished, and only women remained alive.

There have been cases, on the other hand, where, to avoid the destruction of a small clan incapable of a strong rebuff, the self-sacrifice of one man has expiated the general guilt. I know of one case where, at the very moment that news came of the approach of the foe, a youth responsible for the conflict prayed his clansmen who were gathered about him in the yurt to save themselves by flight, offering to save the clan from destruction by his own death. And when the clansmen, with downcast eyes, began to leave the yurt, he, quaffing a cup of seal fat at one draught for courage, flung himself headlong, brandishing his spear, to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers.

/100 cont. /

000 to meet the maddened /101/ throng of avengers. Chivalry
*614 manifests itself in many other forms. Although ordinarily
628 the raid of the avengers is too impulsive for people to be
721 able to think about any kind of formalities of attack,
[538] epics and legends have preserved many formulas for the
declaration of "war" through special intermediaries, about
whom we shall speak in more detail later.

The conventional formula laconically declares: "He (the avenger) has irrevocably said that he prepares to come to do battle with thee; if thou art stronger, thou wilt slay him, if he is stronger, he will slay thee -- thus he spoke."

Military expeditions are undertaken for purposes other than avenging the slaying of a clansman. Extremely frequently they are on account of women. "Lovely Helens" are the tragic causes of war among the Gilyak much more frequently even than slayings. The latter are extremely rare and never bear a mercenary character, being exclusively a case of a momentary flare-up on the part of an easily aroused "barbarian" because of a slight offense to his vanity. But conflicts over women are much more frequent. Either a group of clansmen undertakes a purely romantic raid to abduct the beloved of their comrade. Or expeditions are undertaken with the forcible recovery of the abducted wife of a clansman as their objective -- a more serious incident, because this action is as obligatory for the clan (up to the third generation exclusively) as revenge and blood money for the slaying of a clansman. Customarily they strive to avoid bloodshed, choosing a time for the attack when the men are absent, but the matter rarely ends -- either at the time of the abduction or during the pursuit -- without bloody conflicts, which inevitably bring on the necessity of "raising the kindred bones," i. e., war with all its consequences.

/101 cont./

628 Now let us proceed to the institution of ransom, "tkhusind," which has in part taken the place of revenge and in part coexists with "revenge," serving as its indispensable corrective.

The reasons that gave rise to the institution of ransom side by side with the imperative of blood retaliation, which was finally squeezed out completely by the former, remain completely unexplained in science to this day.

Among the Gilyak, we believe, it is easy to find at least the principal reason for this great transformation in social relations. It rests on that special form of exogamy about which we spoke in detail in its place.

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628 /102/ Each clan is bound to a number of clans, at least four, by bonds of the most intimate character. It takes its wives from the akhmal'k clan or clans, and from these clans came its mothers; it gives in marriage its own women, daughters and sisters, to the ymgi clan or clans. These clans, in the natural order of things, are dear to it; mothers, daughters, sisters bind it to them inseparably.

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562 The clan of the slayer can easily turn out to be the one that takes its women from it, in which are its sisters and daughters, or one which provides it with women. Hence the first great modification: the inviolability of women in conflicts of vengeance.

But the role of the women does not end here. If the slayer is from the akhmal'k clan, i.e., the clan from which come the mothers and wives of the avengers, it is not difficult to imagine that these women cannot be indifferent spectators of a war against their own brothers and fathers. If the slayer is from the ymgi clan, the wives of the latter likewise will not lightly reconcile themselves to the destruction of their husbands and sons at the hands of their own fathers and brothers. In both cases the intervention of the women is inevitable, and a few precedents of their pacifying influence suffice to turn the precedents into a lawful custom, at first coexisting with blood revenge and later squeezing it out.

Indirectly the influence of women in this respect must have found expression in still another way, purely mechanical, so to speak. Their inviolability factually hindered to a considerable degree the realization of blood retaliation itself. Their sentry duty, the

/102 cont./

*614 only one of its kind, must have worn out the foe and weakened his
628 spirit more than the most active resistance. Utilizing their habeas
562 corpus, day and night they go about the environs in perfect safety
looking into every bush, every blade of grass, in search of the enemy in ambush. And if the attackers do not possess an overwhelming number that makes it possible to fall openly upon the expectant enemy, they will never succeed in eluding the vigilance of the inviolable chain of sentries, and the patience of the attackers, worn out by boredom, the march, the torment of waiting, of necessity breaks on the passive resistance of the weaker sex, and the basis for peace has been established.

In order to appreciate fully the importance of the passive
[784] participation of the women in the struggle of the clans, it must
[724] be kept in mind that in many clans it is forbidden to light a fire
on alien territory, /103/ use the water of its rivers and springs, hunt, etc., so that, like the Biblical dwellers of Gibeon, the Gilyak find it necessary to set off on an expedition loaded down with skins filled with water and as much food supplies as a man can carry. Under such conditions every extra day of waiting threatens death by famine, and thus the vigilance of the women necessarily conquers.

175 Here is one of the examples known to me. In 1851, 30 men
*614 of the settlement of Tebakh set off overland to take vengeance on
628 one of the clans of the settlement of Kol' for the slaying of a
562 clansman. After a long march, and a still longer and more fruitless
724 period of waiting as a result of the vigilance of the women, with
poles in their hands, ceaselessly searching the locality, the water in their skin-carriers finally gave out, and the avengers had to depart with nothing and terminate the matter peacefully ... Thus small causes often lead to important consequences.

*614 Tylor was right when he asserted that exogamy weakened the
[77] relations between clans and introduced peace, although he pro-
[114] ceeded from the mistaken conjecture that the aspiration for peace
brought to life the very institution of exogamy. It is true that primitive man is not so sentimental, he is mainly too "god-fearing," that he would sacrifice with a light heart his own fears of punishment for a breach of his blood duty to the voice of feeling, or

/103 cont./

*614 even to his own clear advantage, but he has, as we know, an
771 already tested expedient, with the help of which he pacifies the
gods with full observance of his own interest; he resorts, as in
other cases, to pious deception of the gods, which offers him the
opportunity both to fulfill his religious duty and to derive material
*614 gains from the conflict. Usually, this most important religious
628 procedure of the institution of blood money is completely ignored,
771 and indeed traces of religious ceremonies of reconciliation are not
preserved among all peoples, among the Gilyak, as we shall re-
count later on, this is distinctly clear from the ritual of ransom,
which demands a preliminary imitation of blood revenge in the
form of a battle between representatives of the warring clans, the
killing of dogs, and the feeding of the spirit of the dead man with
their blood.

628 Now let us proceed to the practice of this institution.

537 The principal role in the procedure of reconciliation is played
554 by the so-called khlaj-nivukh'i (1).
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[192] 1. I use the term of the more widespread
[197] western dialect.

Khlaj-nivukh -- literally: the explaining man, /104/ eloquent,
orator. Such a man enjoys special regard in the eyes of the Gilyak,
for in his view the eloquent individual is the chosen one of a par-
ticular deity who constantly inspires him, dwells in him, and in-
spires in him beautiful, convincing speeches and an irresistible
influence on his hearers. The very quickness of speech, the
ability to speak fluently and rapidly for a prolonged time, even
apart from the content of the speech, is already considered a
talent of the highest order. "His tongue turns like the wings of a
windmill," thus, with awe, does the Gilyak characterize out-
standing orators. The latter, in turn, regard themselves as chosen
[532] ones. On the continent they always carry a wooden rod, on the
head of which is carved a human face, depicting, apparently, that
deity which inspires them and helps them to convince others. At
pathetic moments they wave these threateningly, swearing to break
them in the event of the failure of their arguments and bring the
wrath of the gods upon themselves and their intractable opponent.

/104 cont./

628 Most infrequently the *khlaj-nivukh* is a chosen one of the gods in
537 other respects as well: he is a rich man, adept in hunting, worldly-
554 wise, courageous, has a great natural wit, and enjoys authority
*614 among his fellow tribesmen.

Every clan, every settlement has its own small *khlaj-nivukh*, but there are celebrities who enjoy extensive fame among many nationalities of the region, and who, when necessary, are sought after, just as renowned lawyers are among us. They perform their functions rather *honoris causa*, because the customary honorarium -- a Chinese silk costume and a Japanese saber -- can hardly be a recompense to a rich man for the loss of his time and the burden of the obligation. The clothing and arms presented to them serve rather as their *insignia magistratus*, their official vestment, in which they carry out their obligations during the discussions.

*614 And so, when the clan of the avengers has sufficiently worn
628 itself out in its attempts at a bloody retaliation, or if from the
537 first the slaying took place under conditions easily lending them-
selves to a reconciliation, then they begin to search for a *khlaj-nivukh* who would undertake the negotiations and be able to obtain the most profitable conditions. The *khlaj-nivukh* must necessarily be from a neutral clan. One may not send a clansman: in the first place, until the reconciliation, it is a sin to have anything whatever to do with the clan of the slayer; moreover, in view of the naturally inflamed feelings of the parties, negotiations through a clansman might end in another slaying. The other side, in turn, selects its "orator," who is /105/ obligated to defend its interests in the negotiations over the ransom. Ordinarily the offended side takes the initiative.

One fine day a company of the armed avengers, with their *khlaj-nivukh* at their head, appears at the settlement of the slayer. In the adjacent taiga or on the shores of a river the avengers light a fire and make camp, while the *khlaj-nivukh* in his regalia, with a spear in one hand, a kettle in the other, goes alone to the enemy settlement. Here, in one of the yurts, await the opponents with their *khlaj-nivukh* at their head... Leaning on his spear, or sitting down and lighting his pipe (only with "his own" fire) he says: "I was sent to tell you that you have killed our man, and

/105 cont./

*614 628 537 [436] what a man! His right arm was worth so many "syalakhr" (1); if he were living, would he be content to take that much? His left arm was worth so much, etc." Then all the other parts of the body are listed, and the amount of the blood money is computed. If the opposing side agrees, it lays in the kettle of the orator as many pieces of wood as it has agreed to pay "tselkovi." But agreement is never reached at once. The orator of the opposing side seeks to find excuses for the slayer and offers a minimum ransom. This angers his opponent, and he wrathfully departs, threatening to break off negotiations. His colleague hastens after him, urging him to make concessions. They sit down, each one lights up a pipe, always with his own fire, they quarrel, again one of them flies into a passion and hastens off, again they come together and return to the settlement... [576] Etiquette demands that an agreement should not be reached at once, but only after stubborn opposition; therefore sometimes two and three days pass in endless meetings and [171] separations. Some khlaj-nivukh on the Amur resort at the [789] last moment, after the manner of the Tungus tribes, to the aid of their magic rods, which they threaten to break and thereby bring the wrath of the gods upon themselves and their stubborn opponents.

*614 628 536 When an agreement has been reached, the religious feature that I mentioned above enters in, the procedure of an imitation of a bloody battle, which is supposed to conceal from the soul of the slain man and the clan gods the peaceful solution of the conflict.

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1. The syalakhr is a monetary unit which the Gilyak for some reason translate into Russian by the word "tselkovi" /one ruble/ and value in our money at three rubles, -- apparently the Chinese customs duty. It is in these units that the Gilyak evaluate their exchange values -- the shagund (see above).

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*614 A procession of the avengers with the *khlaj-nivukh* at
628 their head sets out toward the settlement of the foe, and
536 out to meet them comes /106/ a similar procession of the clan of the slayer. At a distance of several dozen sagenes from each other, both sides stop, and out comes the closest kinsman with his *khlaj-nivukh*, and from the other side advances the slayer with his "intermediary," both armed with bows and spears. At a signal given by the *khlaj-nivukh'i* they begin to shoot arrows at each other or attack with their spears, adroitly dodging the arrows and blows. The duel, of course, is fictitious, although there have been instances where the opponents grew excited and the matter ended sadly. All this time the *khlaj-nivukh'i* pacify their clients
[782] insisting on reconciliation. In the meantime the clansmen lead a dog apiece among their opponents and kill them with spears ("blood for blood"). Then the opponents hasten to embrace each other, and peace is concluded. The heart of the slain dog is sacrificed to the bird-avenger (see above), while the meat is eaten at the feast that follows.

*614 Then the representatives of both sides set off for the
628 yurt of the slayer, where the objects constituting the *tkhusind* are placed -- kettles, spears, sabers, silken materials, and so forth. *All* the clansmen participate in the payment of the latter, each according to his wealth, considering it a great sin to evade his proportionate share. On the other hand, the acquired *tkhusind* becomes the common property of the clan of the slayer /*sic*/. In part it replaces those valuables which were needed for the dead man in the "settlement of the dead"; in part it becomes a fund for the family of the slain man and the clan requirements.

628 The negotiations over *tkhusind* for other causes, such
537 as, for example, the abduction of a woman, the defilement
554 of sacred things, and so on, are also conducted through the intervention of *khlaj-nivukh'i*, but without any particular ceremony. The intermediaries judge the moot points in the presence of the assembled people, hear the opinions of those present, and the decision is, as it were, the verdict of the whole gathering.

/106 cont./

*614 7. One sin. Although the norms and customs of religion and
835 conduct are almost the same for the whole tribe, nevertheless
602 each clan has its own complex of obligations and prohibitions,
obligatory only for its own members. The first extensive
category of prohibitions relates to sexual norms. For the
members of each clan certain categories of women are pro-
hibited for marriage and sexual relations, for example, all
the women, without exception, born in the given clan,
further, the wives of one's younger brothers, all women who
are called ymk and ranr, all women who come from the clan
of the "sons-in-law"/ zyat'ya/, etc., /107/ so that to know
what women are prohibited for one or another person is
enough for infallibly saying to which clan he belongs. In
this category the prohibitions of speech may also apply. For
the members of each clan there are certain classes of persons
with whom it is prohibited to speak; such classes are the
tuvn (brothers and sisters of all degrees of kinship), the achk
*614 (mother and aunts of the wife), and others. A third category
688 of prohibitions deals with religious norms in the narrow sense.
Each clan, as we have seen, has its own clan gods and sacri-
fices, its own sacred objects, its beliefs, and, consequently,
its own ritual of the clan cult, common to all the clansmen
but having no religious significance whatever for members
of other clans. These numerous rites and objects of the
cult demand the greatest respect. The whole clan, on whom
is vented the wrath of the offended deities, answers and
therefore each member of the clan is not only obliged him-
self to avoid infractions of his taboos, but to defend them
against infraction by outsiders. For each such infraction
it is necessary to exact tkhusind. Hence the customary diffi-
culties with members of other clans over an accidental defiling
of the enclosure of the hearth, over the taking of fire from
the yurt, a bear bone dropped during the festival banquet, the
infraction of the inviolability of all the appurtenances of
the bear festival -- the posts to which the bears are tied, the
poles with their heads, the storehouses for festival utensils and
bear bones, etc.

/107 cont./

*614 Finally, if one keeps in mind that the term "sin" embraces
771 not only prohibitions in the formal sense, but also the obligation
783 to carry out positive norms, then the formula "common sin"
784 acquires a broad general sense, becomes the expression of the
182 principle of unity of the circle of clan obligations in general.
The significance of this principle is all the greater by virtue of the
fact that in the eyes of the Gilyak obligations and prohibitions
are by no means formal juridical norms, observed through fear of
punishment, but religious imperatives, rigorously performed out
of the feeling for self-preservation. For the Gilyak there is no
difference between religious, sexual, and social prohibitions;
all are equally religious, and to satisfy the dictates of religion
means to be concerned about the benevolence of the gods, about
the elimination of the machinations of the enemies of life,
etc., that is to say, to feel concern for one's self-preservation.
Not to fulfill them, keeping in mind the whole clan background
of the cult, means not only to destroy oneself, but the
whole clan as well. Hence the great importance of this
principle as a cementing agent of the clan union. Hence,
*614 on /108/ the other hand, it becomes comprehensible as to
182 why norms frequently contradicting human nature, requiring
602 immense self-control, are carried out, not through compulsion,
83 but as the natural dictates of instinct. Consider, for example,
with what strength the sexual norms act. In general, in
matters of the sexual instinct the Gilyak, both men and
women, follow their natural inclinations with complete
freedom; there is no chastity either before or after marriage.
Their only concern is not to become victims of jealousy.
There is no question of any feeling of self-restraint. Nevertheless,
despite the complete sexual license from our point
of view, the Gilyak observes complete chastity with respect
to persons of the prohibited categories. Adultery is unknown
to him; the adulterer is a monstrosity, an exception that is
*614 almost never encountered. The same is true of the prohibitions
602 of speech. Brothers and sisters, left face to face, will
182 go for whole days enduring the torments of silence, in the
most urgent necessity exchanging rare businesslike phrases in

/108 cont./

*614 602 182 impersonal form, although by temperament these are far from taciturn people. Of course such self-control is the result of upbringing and training to a considerable degree, but it never would have reached such a high state of self-restraint if it were not for the general consciousness of the destructive effect of each individual infraction on the welfare of the whole clan.

*614 783 784 771 The religious sanction of prohibitions and obligations and the lively consciousness on the part of one and all that "sin is communal" explain to us the most amazing aspect of the clan structure, the presence of the social organism and the almost complete absence of the element of compulsion, authority. But more about this later.

*614 182 Such are the basic features of the clan. By them one can judge its all-embracing role in the life of the Gilyak. It enfolds a man from birth to death, giving life all its content. It surrounds him with intimate bonds of kinship from both the side of the father and the side of the mother. It unites with a living bond the living generation with the departed ones. It guarantees to man an individual marriage and conjugal rights outside of it, and after his death it provides for his widow and children. The clan defends his life and the inviolability of his family against encroachments by a member of another clan, ready as one man to rise to the defense of the trampled rights of a clansman and to answer for his guilt to a member of another clan. It feeds him when he is hungry, it pays the debts of the insolvent, it assists in the payment of the bride price and of blood money.

*614 182 771 /109/ In the benevolence of the clan gods, in the clan sacrifices, man finds the higher protection and the strongest guarantee of his welfare. The clan is the school of moral training, the school of duty, of social co-operation and abnegation, and, finally, in the clan, man finds the highest pleasures and the most valuable consolation in the most bitter miseries of life - the noisy joys of festivals and preparations for felicity in the world beyond the grave.

/109 cont./

* 614 But what is the mechanism of this amazing institution which gives an individual more than the contemporary state, which surrounds a person not only with universal anxieties, but also with an extensive net of regulations and "sins"? Where are its outward characteristics and the organs which fulfill its function? Is it not strange that in the formula of the clan these elements, extremely important from our point of view, are completely lacking?

VII.

The Mechanism of the Clan

114 Nordenskiöld, describing the Chukchee, in one place expresses himself thus: "Here, as at all the posts that I visited, complete anarchy reigned. Nevertheless, the members of this rulerless community lived in harmony and friendship among themselves."

Such opinions with regard to various primitive peoples are easy to find in the writings of many other travelers. In particular, Nordenskiöld would say about the Gilyak what he said about the Chukchee. That profound social organization that we have described in the preceding section, which forms the soul of every primitive society and which has come into history under the name of clan -- that organization often remains completely hidden from the view of a civilized observer who chances to be present, for to him, a European, everything that does not recall the familiar elements of the state organization -- territory, representatives of power, compulsory regulations of the system -- is nothing more than "anarchy in which, to his great astonishment, the members of the rulerless community nevertheless contrived to live in harmony and friendship."

/109 cont./

000 And this is just what is striking in the Gilyak system of life. Despite all the complexity of the social fabric, embracing all aspects of life, all those external-formal signs of organization which the European involuntarily seeks everywhere are either completely absent or assume forms which are too fluctuating.

*614 361 423 /110/ Let us begin with territory. It is completely natural that the members of one clan should prefer to live together in immediate unity and community with each other. There are actually some settlements, such as Tangi, Nyanivo, Viskivo, and others, where the whole population belongs to one clan. In the large winter yurts of such settlements one can sometimes count 20 or 30 clansmen and not a single alien. Even where several clans live in one settlement, as in Kol', the yurts of each clan are arranged in a row, as if in accord with a strictly observed tradition. Each clan has its own clan streams for hunting, divided among the different families, among whom they pass by inheritance from father to son, although the right to property is limited by actual use, upon the suspension of which the stream becomes res nullius and can be utilized by anyone, even an alien.

Nevertheless, despite the natural tendency of clansmen
to remain near each other, the principle of territoriality does
not in fact exist. In the great majority of Gilyak villages the
[621] composition of the population is mixed. In the above-
mentioned settlement of Kol' I counted representatives of
eight clans, in smaller villages, from two to three clans,
and but very few villages in which there were absolutely no
members of other clans. There are clans whose branches are
to be met in the most different and remote points of Gilyak
territory. This dispersion, of course, is a fact that seems to
be at variance with the principles of clan, but it is inevitable
[166] under the given economic and social conditions. A settlement
located in a particularly favorable place from the fisher-
man's point of view will naturally attract newcomers from
other clans, and, conversely, if the clan has grown so large

*614 /110 cont./
361 in its original site that the indigenous village can no longer feed
423 everybody, emigrants by degrees depart from it to other places,
[166] selecting the nearest possible sites in order that the ties between the clansmen will not be severed. Immigration to very distant points
[167] involves an actual division of the "fire" and branching out of the clan. A no less important cause of the mixture of population is the custom, in some instances, of sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ moving to the clans of their fathers-in-law, about which we shall speak in detail in its place. Territory is in any case an indefinite sign of the clan.

423 The Gilyak do not even possess a consciousness of the right to
609 property, not only with respect to themselves, but also with respect to /111/ strangers. When wandering Tungus appeared on Sakhalin 50 years ago and began to hunt in the primordial territories of the Gilyak, it did not occur to anyone to protest against this, although the Tungus came in small groups and could hardly have withstood the numerous aborigines with force.

*614 Clan names are just as indefinite a sign. In the mass of primitive, so-called "totemistic" tribes, the clan name is one of the very sharpest external signs of the unity of a clan. A totemistic name is a real object of nature, animal or plant, which is represented on the body, clothing, buildings, etc.

Among the Gilyak there is nothing of this sort. In some clans there are totemistic legends. Thus, for example, a clan living in the settlement of Tangakh considers itself kindred with the bear on the grounds that a woman of that clan had given birth to a monstrosity with features resembling those of a bear. Similar legends exist in other clans. Nevertheless, not only typical totemistic, but even ordinary clan names in the proper sense are absent. There are only territorial names. If a Gilyak wants to name the people of such and such a clan, he says "the dwellers of such and such a settlement," which sometimes corresponds with the actual place of habitation of the clan, but most frequently only indicates the village which was once the primordial abode of one or another clan.

/111 cont. /

*614 [167] Thus in the settlement of Kol' there are clans which bear the designations, Tyvli-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Tyvlin); M'yekhre-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of M'yekhri), N'yenkhay-fing (inhabitants of the settlement of Nyenkhay), etc., although the representatives of these clans have lived for a long time in the above-mentioned settlement of Kol', having broken all their ties with the primordial abode of their ancestors (1). The only clans that have true clan names are those founded by emigrants from the neighboring Tungus tribes; thus were formed such clans as the Tskharnung, the Choril, etc. And it is noteworthy that in just these clans we observe a clear transition to totemism. In the Negda tribe, for example, almost every clan traces its origin from one or another kind of animal (tiger, toad, bear, etc.). Among the Gilyak such phenomena are very rarely encountered.

*614 177 648 622 /112/ Now let us proceed to what for the European is the most important sign of clan unity -- to the organs of power. However complex, as we have seen, clan life is, the clan does not know any established authorities. True, the Chinese, and after them the Russians, sought to establish among the Gilyak the institution of elders, and at that not clan but settlement elders, but it had no relation to the life of the clan. This was a nasty episode, but that was all. The elders designated by the Russian authorities were selected, not from among the best or even the wealthiest inhabitants, but from the most officious ones, and these not only did not enjoy any authority, but rather scorn, and in some *614 instances even hatred. The primordial structure of the clan knew nothing of the kind. The patriarchal authority which, according to the Biblical examples, is ordinarily associated with the

[171] 1. Similar territorial designations among the Australians were the reason that Kunov came to the completely unfounded conclusion that among these tribes there is no clan organization.

/112 cont./
*614 clan, and which we see even now, for example, among the
Buryat, the Kirgiz, the Caucasian peoples, etc., is absolutely
lacking among the Gilyak and in general among peoples on a
level of development similar to theirs. It is not found even in
[562] the family. True, a certain despotism is practiced with respect
to the women, who are at first subordinate to their fathers and
brothers and, after marriage, to their husbands, but this is a
despotism that has nothing in common with the despotism of the
Roman patria potestas. Instances of slaying wives and daughters
or selling them into slavery are impossible.

562 True, there are not infrequent cases of girls forced to marry,
which is to a considerable degree tied up with the religiously
593 sanctioned custom of marriage between the children of brothers
and sisters, but in general the attitude toward daughters is one of
the greatest tenderness, both before and after marriage. Between
[606] the families of the father-in-law and son-in-law /zyat'/ there
are established for their whole life, as we shall see, profound
and intimate ties of hospitality and mutual aid, and in the rare
cases of bad treatment of a married woman, the woman always
receives real protection from her kinsmen. In general, however,
the conjugal relationships are very gentle, women are consulted,
and the older ones even participate in the councils and assemblies
of the clansmen.

561 There is absolutely no trace of despotism with regard to the
855 representatives of the male sex. To be convinced on this point,
it is enough to witness the attitude of the adults toward children.
It is difficult for the civilized man even to imagine what a feeling
of equality and respect prevails here with regard to the youth.
Male children of ten to twelve feel themselves to be members of
society with completely equal rights. The wisest and most
honored oldsters listen with the most serious attention to their remarks
and reply with the same seriousness and courtesy that they
display toward their own /113/ contemporaries. No one feels any
[86] difference of years or social status. True, the Gilyak male child
of ten to twelve usually is already an accomplished gentleman. He
has not only mastered all the techniques of his day-to-day

/113 cont./

561 labors, he is not only a skillful shot, fisherman, oarsman, etc.,
855 but he is already in fact a worker, like all the others. Moreover,
86 to a considerable degree he has already mastered the whole sum
of spiritual learning. He already knows from practice all the clan
customs, all the religious rites, he remembers all the kinship
appellations, he knows the legends, tales, and songs of his tribe,
and, to top it all off, he has that knowledge of men and life that
constant presence in the society of adults provides: on journeys,
hunting, fishing, festivals, etc. Hence, also, his feeling of his
own worth and weightiness of speech, and his ability to conduct
himself in society.

561 All these qualities, however, would have no significance if
596 the patriarchal principles existed. The youths of other peoples
855 of low culture also attain self-reliance at an early age, but a
special, almost religious veneration of their elders, who purposely
train them in submission, is demanded of them. Among the
Gilyak there is nothing of the sort. All the more absent is the
despotism of the head of the family with respect to its adult members.
The sons are completely free to separate from their father,
obtaining from him their allotment in the form of implements,
sleighs, and such, and when they assist him with a part of their
catch, they do this quite freely, with absolutely no compulsion.
596 One encounters large families living in a communal economy, at
the head of which stands the elder in the family, the grandfather,
father, or one of the brothers, but this is a completely free association,
[422] from which one may depart at will. And even though he is a
[434] participant in such an economic union, every member can have
his own individual economy in the form of sleds and dogs, arms,
enjoying the right to individual earnings by means of his personal
merits; and what each member shares with his own -- and there is
extensive sharing, especially in food supplies, both natural and
purchased -- is shared without any compulsion. They bring flour,
rice, kumiss, and so on from the city, and all this is cooked in
the common kettle for all. Communism and individualism are
combined without any friction.

/113 cont./

596 Finally -- and this is particularly necessary to note -- it is not at all obligatory that at the head of large families with a common economy there should be elders in years; most frequently, on the contrary, they are young people who have distinguished themselves by their activity, resourcefulness, and zeal, in a word, by their personal talents. Old men enjoy /114/ authority only with regard to special questions, as the preservers of traditions, as experts in the rituals and history of the family-clan relations. They are consulted on confusing questions of kinship and in the giving of names; it is they who must supervise the ritual aspect of festivals, but this does not give them any power or advantages. 596 888

*614 622 And that which is absent in the family -- the despotism of the eldest, the head -- is also lacking in the clan. It knows neither despotic elders-patriarchs nor any permanent authorities in general, collective or individual, neither elected ones nor any by right of birth and inheritance.

*614 The clan is not a fiction, however; it is a complicated institution, surrounding the Gilyak with a thick net of regulations, prohibitions, and obligations, but at the same time providing him with all the benefits, material and spiritual, of a firm social union.

We thus return to the question that we raised at the end of the preceding section. Where are the driving forces of the mechanism of this almighty institution -- the clan, where is the secret of the amazing combination of the closest community with a complete absence of despotism, of all-embracing wardship and regulation with the absence of compulsion and the maintenance of individual freedom?

This secret is contained in two conditions: 1) the simplicity of economic conditions and relations, which offers a broad scope to the comprehensive development of the powers and abilities of the individual and their free application to the wide-open gifts of nature equally free to all; and, secondly, the entire socio-religious world-outlook, which quite spontaneously, without any external pressure, directs the will and activity of each toward the harmony of the common interest, substituting for external compulsion the force of the inner consciousness of each.

/114 cont./

*614 433 Let us look more closely at these conditions, and first of all at the economic ones.

461 476 The predominant form of labor is individual labor or the simplest co-operation. The principal source of food is fishing. The sea and rivers are so rich in this product that with the most meager equipment under normal conditions everyone can secure his existence through his own efforts. In hunting sea animals, it is true, the co-operation of several men is necessary, but the whole business is so simple that there can be no talk here of masters and workmen, nor of any special organization; everyone performs that for which he is /115/ most qualified. Moreover, the artel is generally composed of kinsmen, and it never occurs to anyone to divide the catch in any way other than according to the number of workers. A share is also assigned to those who have not participated in the hunting, for do the clan gods give only to some and not all the members of the clan? The same is true of hunting for forest beasts, if carried on by a group, but ordinarily the hunter, like the fisherman, can get along perfectly well in his pursuits without the help of others. And, in fact, during the fishing season the Gilyak population disperses in all directions; each master departs to his favorite site. During the hunting season everyone sets off for his hunting balagan and from there keeps watch over his traps, sometimes not seeing a stranger for weeks.

156 555 Thus, the predominant form of labor is individual. Everyone must be able to do everything, master all the knowledge of his tribe, be an individual equal with all, comprehensively developed and prepared for life.

555 556 156 And since the gifts of nature are plentiful, free, and accessible to the efforts of all, the well-being of a man depends exclusively, in consequence, on his abilities and diligence. Inequality, which under more complex conditions is a source of dissension and social differences, does not show its thorns here. A wealthy man owes everything exclusively to his own personal talents and virtues. His accumulations cannot enslave or humiliate anyone. Moreover, the personal accomplishments of a man are a gift of the gods,

/115 cont./

555 and the chosen one cannot either evoke envy or pride himself on
556 his advantages (1).
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1. The following example can serve as a good illustration of the outlook of the Gilyak on the origin of personal wealth. On the western shore of Sakhalin the wealthiest man in my time was a certain Gibl' from the village of Tangivo. He had, in effect, a fine intelligence and was an able hunter and an energetic man. Moreover, he was aided by his acquaintance with the Russian officials, whom he served in the capacity of supplier of furs and collections. But the Gilyak logic saw the cause of his extraordinary wealth in a quite special circumstance: that he once found far away in the hills under a log a piece of some kind of substance, a magic talisman, sent to him by the gods. [789]

* 614
156 His protectors, sending him the beasts of the taiga and the fish of the water, are the common genii of the clan. To hoard
[454] one's wealth, not sharing it with one's clansmen, would be
[183] equivalent to appropriating for oneself that which belongs to one jointly with all, and the highest ambition of such a man is to display his benevolence and generosity to those around him.

Such are the economic relations, producing a whole personality equal to others in preparation and knowledge, /116/ excluding the possibility of mutual slavery, and creating for each person a healthy atmosphere of consciousness of his own freedom and self-determination.

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771 But the greatest wholeness is given to a person by his socio-religious world-outlook. The basic axiom of everyone is that all his existence and welfare are completely in the hands of the gods, in particular the clan gods, who shower their beneficence not on

/116 cont./

156 one but on all. Any attempt to monopolize the gifts of the gods
771 must inevitably incur just punishment by the common benefactors
of the clan.

*614 Everything that religion and clan wisdom prescribe for gain-
771 ing the beneficence of the gods is a blessing for each, and to
182 carry out their dictates means only to take care of one's self. It
156 is the same with all the prescriptions of clan regulations, be they
183 sexual norms, rules of revenge, or religious rites; any infraction
of them on the part of one is a common "sin" and is destructive
to all.

All more or less important acts of social life, even including sacrificing one's self in a battle of vengeance for one's clansman, are categorical imperatives of a religious world-outlook which neither allow hesitation nor require compulsion. All of the instincts for self-preservation are in complete harmony with the religious ideas. By an act of revenge, a man protects his own security, but he thereby also fulfills a religious duty by appeasing the spirit of the dead man, which is able to inflict punishment if it remains unavenged. And so it is in everything...

156 A healthy, integrated, comprehensively developed per-
*614 sonality with an integrated religio-social world-outlook, creating
182 a perfect harmony of the personal and social interests and the
driving forces of life -- such is the hidden, but mighty mainspring
of the clan mechanism.

Observe how, without any regulation or organs of compulsion, but with only the desire of an individual, the complicated mechanism of clan life operates.

*614 Suppose a clansman with a family dies. It is necessary to
768 provide for his family, to preserve his property until the heirs
182 reach maturity, and it is necessary, in order to avoid disputes,
to decide to whom the widow of the deceased shall pass. There
are no judges, there are no authorities, but, a short while after
the deceased has been buried, the nearest clansmen assemble,
have a short discussion, listen to the claimants, and the one they
decide upon will be the husband of the widow and the father of the
orphaned children.

/116 cont./

*614 Or: one or another family is temporarily impoverished.
476 There is no special /117/ organ that must take care of them; it
182 is unnecessary, because the family will find hospitality and
assistance in any house they choose, even of the most distant
[574] kinsman, until the hard times change. And this is not offensive
to anyone, for it is a rare thing for someone neither to enjoy
hospitality nor to offer it to someone else from time to time.

*614 Suppose it is necessary to arrange a troublesome and ex-
476 pensive clan festival. There are neither collections nor coercions,
796 no organization for the reception of guests, and so on. Each
182 person prepares as much as he can according to his conscience,
each bears his share of the labor, and only the man who is a little
richer than the others takes upon himself the trouble of the arrangements. Everyone takes to his house the prepared viands and purchases; they meet at his house to share in the prefestival work.

During the bear festival, dozens of additional persons assemble from all sides. For several days it is necessary to feed not only the people, but also their many dogs. How much trouble, how much expense! Nevertheless, everything is arranged simply and to the general satisfaction of all. Each guest prefers, of course, to stay with the one who is closest to him in kinship or sympathy, where they take him in, not as a duty, but because they want him; but in any home at all every arriving guest finds a sincere, cordial reception, because during the days of festive enthusiasm everyone wants to display his sympathy and to have broad intercourse with new people.

731 Hunger has appeared, the specter of terrible misfortune,
574 which can carry off the whole population of a village! All the
476 hungry ones who have not succeeded in dispersing to more fortunate
182 areas gather at the home of the man who still has some supplies,
and the laws of hospitality are just as strong on this black day as in
days of plenty.

/117 cont./

*614 But the worst of calamities -- a clansman has been slain!
628 War is inevitable! ... The whole population takes up arms.
701 There is no regular leader, no elder, and no elections. The
182 natural leader has long been known and acknowledged by all: it is the bravest and luckiest of the clansmen, it is the so-called "master," "*yz*" -- all eyes are turned toward him!

And in a moment the equal among equals suddenly becomes a military leader, gives orders, distributes weapons, fixes the time of the march, etc.; they obey him as they would a dictator. If this natural leader has died or been killed, everyone knows the one most worthy to replace him.

*614 Suppose a civil dispute has arisen between clansmen or be-
627 tween /118/ representatives of different clans. There are no
182 established persons who *ex officio* resolve disputes and difficulties. Very often the accuser is himself judge and executor of the sentence. Once the defendant has refused to carry out his obligation of his own free will, the accuser, not stopping to meditate, unhitches a dog from the team of the debtor or climbs into the storehouse in order to take for himself something equal in value to his claim. And the accuser considers this in the order of things. Of course, such a method is not always possible. But even then the affair works out perfectly well without the powers that be. It is enough for the offended party merely to address himslf directly or through a *khlaj-nivukh* (see above) to one or two authoritative individuals-"masters" from the clansmen of the offender, and the matter is very quickly settled. They summon the offender, who is usually escorted by his closest kinsmen, and sometimes by a *khlaj-nivukh*. Even outsiders gather. From the hearing of both sides and the opinions of those present, an opinion which is accepted by the majority assumes the strength of a verdict. Usually the offender submits voluntarily; otherwise, the managers of the affair proceed to the offender's storehouse and remove an adjudged amount.

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But who are these authoritative individuals who appear on the scene in special cases and either personally or together with the "village community" of their clansmen display, as those having the power, their initiative and energy? What role do they play in ordinary life?

They are the so-called yz' -- the "masters" (1), or otherwise the urdlya-nivukhi -- the good, i.e., the rich, outstanding men (good and rich are synonomous among all primitive peoples). These are individuals who enjoy outstanding prosperity, thanks to their exceptional individual talents -- bravery, dexterity, strength, enterprise, and intelligence, which place them in an advantageous position in the business of obtaining the means of subsistence. Such an individual is a valuable man for all around him. For the narrow circle of his own family he is the natural head of the communal economy, which, thanks to his initiative and talents, is run more profitably than if it were conducted haphazardly. /119/ The huge family grouped around him is better provided with

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1. Up to the present, little attention has been focused on the role of such persons in the structure of primitive societies. Their role is obscured by their being classified only as representatives of wealth. Here is one of the most recent examples of such a relation. Separate classes of "nobles" and "commoners" do not exist in northwestern California, but in almost all affairs of life the rich man plays the most important role ("Types of Indian Culture in California," by A. L. Kroeber, University of California Publications, June, 1904, Vol. II). One should be grateful, however, that such facts have been noted at all.

/119 cont./

* 614 554 556 not only in natural products, but also purchased ones, tobacco, rice, kumiss, etc., because his wealth and associations make it possible for him to undertake distant journeys for the barter of furs and the acquisition of goods at firsthand. He is the guardian of the common "shagund" of his closest kinsmen, and the possessor of his own rich collection of "shagund," which his clansmen may use in case of necessity.

For the whole clan he is not only a man whose home is always open, where one can always go to eat well, enjoy the delights of tobacco, and hear interesting things, but one who always comes to assist in time of need. Especially invaluable, however, is his help at times of common misfortune, such as war, conflicts arising from revenge, disputes with members of other clans. He has supplies of the best weapons and conveyances, his name strikes terror into the foe, who for that reason will more willingly consent to a reconciliation, and, finally, he has supplies of "shagund" when it becomes necessary to pay ransom. Moreover, such a person usually possesses exceptional intelligence, eloquence, rich experience, and [537] knowledge of life and people. He is the natural orator, "khlaj-nivukh," who plays such a weighty role in affairs of revenge and civil disputes; even neighboring clans resort to him when the intervention of intermediaries is necessary. Among these yz'i there are individuals who enjoy enormous fame and respect throughout all the territory settled by the [532] Gilyak. In the image and likeness of these yz'i are fashioned images of the gods, the "masters" of the mountains, seas, heavens, rivers, etc. Moreover, they do not simply display respect toward him, but also a feeling of religious adoration. From among such individuals, under favorable circumstances, are developed those elements of authority which we find in other tribes standing on a higher level of cultural conditions. [623] In some cases, such yz'i will become the council of elders, which before the clan assembly decides the affairs of the [622] community in the name of the clan. Under other circumstances, when the tribe is compelled to conduct frequent wars,

*614 /119 cont./
554 the most outstanding yz'i become leaders of the tribe for life,
556 or hereditary tribal leaders, leaders of troops, vikings, or
[622] founders of dynasties.

But in the clan life of the Gilyak such individuals do not yet make claim to anything of this sort. Their role is still too insignificant and in any event incidental in comparison with the complex functions of the clan, whose mechanism and life are based on the value and initiative of the integrated personality of each individual. What is the /120/ yz' if not that integrated personality in its highest manifestation of individuality? The influence of the yz' is therefore purely factual, moral; between him and the poorest of his clansmen there is no abyss either in the intellectual or economic sense, while the higher fraternal bond of the religio-social union of the clan towers over and dominates all.

*614 Such is the mechanism of clan life. Its real mainspring is
182 the comprehensive development of the personality, together with an integrated religio-social world-view. Organized power is completely absent. Although invisible behind all this, and without any claims to power, elements of authority exist, these elements are without form; they appear on the scene in an elemental fashion, spontaneously, and not at all as constant elements of authority which would push the free manifestation of personality into the background, but these elements nevertheless do exist. There are three of them:

[623] Above all there is the khal', the clan, i.e., the whole totality of the adult clansmen, or at least all those who are present at a given moment, which, having no head or regular assemblies, ordinarily appears suddenly on the scene when some serious problem demands its interference and, once the problem is resolved, disappears from the scene as suddenly as it appeared.

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*614 182 Then there are the hejmary, the elders, all of whose authority consists in the solution of moot problems of cult and kinship.

623 They play a certain role at the time of the clan festivals, at which they are generally the principal managers; they are, after a fashion, the priests of the clan. They do not, however, wield any influence or possess any actual significance in the other important manifestations of the life of the clan.

*614 182 Finally, the third element of authority is the yz'i.

[556] [554] Under favorable conditions, there could develop out of these three elements those diverse forms of power which in various combinations (people's assemblies, the council of the elders, patriarchs, priest-kings and military leaders, dukes, vikings, kings, and so forth) we find among many semi-cultured peoples at the present time and at the dawn of the history of all nations which are civilized today. But among the Gilyak these elements are only embryonic, and it is hardly fated for them ever to receive an impetus toward further development.

/121/

VIII.

Interclan Relations

615 *614 The clan, however, is not a self-sufficient institution, and a man's intimate ties are not bounded only by the clan to which he belongs by birth.

Each clan, by the basic principle of its matrimonial law, is bound by marriage ties with four other clans, the akhmal'k and ymgi clans. Between these clans is formed the bond of blood kinship, so important in the eyes of primitive man, the bond of common origin through the mother (the male ancestors of all four clans and the representatives of each of their generations are reciprocally first cousins through the mother), and to this are united those powerful ties of natural intimacy which are engendered by generations of women tying these clans together in an uninterrupted chain of marriage unions.

/121 cont./

615 In practice, as we know, these bonds extend far beyond the
*614 confines of the original four clans. First of all, in addition to these last, every clan with which at least one clansman has formed matrimonial ties is already an akhmal'k or ymgi to all his clan. On the other hand, we know that every akhmal'k and every ymgi retains its appellation not only with respect to those clans with which it is directly bound matrimonially, but also with respect to those who consider themselves the corresponding ymgi and akhmal'k of the former, so that in addition to the akhmal'k and ymgi of the first degree, each clan has still others of the second, third degrees, etc. All these clans call each other pandfy, individuals of a common origin.

[582] Thus we see that the basic principle, simple and clear, which lay at the basis of the family and clan, a principle according to which a man preferably marries the daughter of the brother of his mother, becomes the basis of blood ties and sympathy, not only within each separate clan, but of even more extensive unions, interclan and, finally, of the whole tribe. True, by virtue of the unfavorable circumstances mentioned by us, such as the dispersion of a small tribe over an enormous territory and many other circumstances, these bonds could not take formal shape in such completed organizations as the phratries and tribes, for example, of the North American Indians, but here also they created an atmosphere of social unity which led the clan from an egoistic isolation onto the path of interclan community and brotherhood.

/122/ Let us consider a little more closely the bonds which arise between the pandf clans, between each clan and those from which the Gilyak takes his wives or to which he gives his women. These bonds are not limited to feelings alone; they are expressed in quite real forms.

*614 First of all, there is the obligation of mutual sustenance
615 and hospitality. This in essence is only an extension of that
496 same obligation existing within the clan to the blood pandf;
574 the extension to them of that benevolence of the clan deities

/122 cont./

*614 which belongs to them by right through the female line: "Ymgi
615 (sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ must be fed" -- such is the formula of
476
574 this interclan obligation.

*614 This rule, however, does not find expression at all in an ob-
615 ligation of the akhmal'k to support his son-in-law /zyat'/ and
476 his family permanently in his own home. It may be that at
574 a very remote time, in the period of maternality when the
591 husband went to live in the home of the wife, it was actually
so, but at the present time, under agnatic principles, the wife
goes to the home of the husband and customarily moves completely to the clan site of her spouse's habitation. Nevertheless, the principle of "sustenance," as we shall see, plays a
most important role in the unification of the clans.

615 It is consolidated in a special, extremely peculiar religious
585 rite, which consists of the following. At the last moment be-
591 fore the bride is carried away from the home of her father,
476 there is placed just inside the threshold a large, four-handled
cast-iron kettle brought by the bridegroom as a part of the bride price for the bride, and on the outside a small kettle belonging to the father of the girl. When going out, the bride and bridegroom must step with the foot first on the inner and then on the outer kettle: the former remains with the father-in-law, the second is borne home by the bridegroom -- ymgi. In a year, when, according to custom, the couple pay a visit to the akhmal'k, the same ceremony is repeated before their departure; only this time on each side of the threshold there is placed a pot and a cup, which are again exchanged as in the first instance. It is characteristic that the exchanged objects bear the designation nich (mine-thine, a symbol of mutual sustenance), while the whole rite is called nich zychyvynd (trampling of the nich). It is also called lymyz'n-zand -- trampling of the threshold, which points to the religious element of the rite, in which a role is played by the so-called lymyz'n-mam -- an old woman, the mistress of the threshold, the woman-forbear, the guardian genius of the home, whose

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615 /122 cont./
585 blood flows equally /123/ in the veins of both of the newlyweds,
591 the children of brother and sister. Standing in close connection
796 with this rite is the previously described moment in the bear
615 festival, when, before the shooting at the mark, the master of
476 the bear (the *akhmal'k*) and his *ymgi* each sets beside himself
an ax and a kettle, which are also called *nich* and which are
also mutually exchanged. If the first rite symbolizes mutual
sustenance, the second symbolizes reciprocal co-operation in
hunting, which, as we shall soon see, has a quite real basis.

615 The principle of "sustenance" is not limited to periodic
*614 visits to the relatives of the wife, although they have some
476 economic significance, since the *akhmal'k'i* each time, in
574 addition to the hospitality shown, give a valuable present
[606] to their *ymgi*, especially on the first visit after the marriage,
[431] when the son-in-law /*zyat'*/ is customarily given, depending
on the resources, one or several pairs of smart garments for
men. Cases of actual need are much more important. There
*614 are times when one's own clan is powerless to aid its clansman,
731 because misfortune, having overtaken one, has overtaken all.
476 Let something happen during the season of the fish run to turn
574 them from their accustomed path, and general disaster is at
606 hand. At such a time there is a simple way out. A man gathers
615 up his family, his dogs, and all his movable goods and chattels
in general and emigrates for the whole season to the settlement
of his father-in-law.

Here he is met with outstretched arms, and from the first minute he feels himself at home, where they give him food and drink and share everything with him. The son-in-law /*zyat'*/, of course, is not a do-nothing; he helps in one way or another, but this is far from making up for the expenses involved in the long and unexpected visit of a whole family, often at a time when the supplies of fish have already been prepared and it is impossible to increase them.

615 Similar fraternal relations between *akhmal'k'i* and *ymgi*
224 are manifested in sea hunting and land undertakings.

225 The most important of these require the participation of
476 several persons: hunting bear in summer and winter (taking it
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*614 /123 cont./
615 from its lair), sable hunting, and especially the hunting of
224 sea animals in boats. And it is noteworthy that in these
225 instances the Gilyak most frequently invites the participation,
476 not of his clansmen, but of the ymgi, and not necessarily
those married to his sister or daughter, but ymgi in general,
i.e., the young men from that clan which takes its wives
from him. The Gilyak feels more at ease with them than he
does with his own /124/ clansmen; he can freely converse
and joke with them, while he may not do this, as we know,
with all of his clansmen. In turn, in their akhmal'k clan the
ymgi feel like a fish in water; all the women of their generation
are their an'gej (wives) -- all future wives and at any rate
women to whom at any time they have conjugal rights in the
broadest sense of the term. As concerns the local young male
population, they find their revenge in the clan of their
akhmal'k'i, where they meet the same reception from their
*614 "fathers-in-law" and among their numerous "wives." Between
615 the male youth of both clans ("navkh'i") (1), as a result of
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1. Let us recall that ymgi and the "brothers" of their "wives" mutually call themselves navkh'i.

frequent meetings, not to mention relationship by marriage, the most touching relations are established. It is in these surroundings that friendships flower most of all. Among the Gilyak the practice of ceremonial brotherhood is very much in vogue. Ordinarily it manifests itself in the periodic exchange of presents, mutual aid in misfortune, and other such services. But the most touching instances of ceremonial brotherhood may be found among the navkh'i. Here is one such example, especially surprising to me, which I chanced to observe in the settlement of Ngambevo on the eastern shore of Sakhalin. Both friends, "navkh'i," lived in one yurt; they had everything in common, went about together like lovers, almost never separated -- a modern Orestes and Pylades. They were both,

/124 cont./

*614 it is true, very young, unmarried, and it is difficult to say
615 what happened to their feelings later on, but the mere possi-
608 bility of such examples illustrates boldly the relations between members of matrimonial clans.

*614 The principle of mutual aid between members of matri-
615 monial clans is reflected in the right of inheritance, to which,
428 despite the strict agnatic basis, there is only one exception,
583 namely, with regard to the pandf'y: by a will, as we already know, the ymgi can obtain the iron "shagund" (i.e., going for the bride price), while the akhmal'k can obtain the fur "shagund" (going toward the bride's dowry). This rule, which reduces the bride price to the simple formality of taking it from one pocket and putting it in another, serves, incidentally, as an important indication of the fact that originally among the Gilyak the bride price did not bear the character of payment for the bride, but rather was a form of religious ransom. But for what?

*614 The fact is that under the Gilyak norms of marriage the
615 bride price is in general a strange anomaly. Actually, once
174 marriage /125/ from the clan of the mother is a religious ob-
583 ligation, and even preferable between the children of brother and sister, how can there be any talk of payment or ransom for the bride? Obviously the rise of this institution must have been due to some recent change in the marriage norms. This
[178] change we know: it consisted in the fact that in some instances when marriage from the clan of the mother was impossible, it became necessary to take wives from a strange clan, but this clan, in its turn, was obligated to keep its women for its own lawful ymgi and therefore could only accede to giving away its women by masking it with some act of pious deception of the gods, which would at the same time be profitable for the
[182] father-in-law. By analogy with the religious ransom in cases of revenge (see above), there thus arose the institution of the bride price, satisfying both the interests of the father-in-law and the dictates of religion. In its turn, the ymgi clan, which

/125 cont./

*614 615 174 583

violated its own law, protected itself by another fiction: the whole clan of the "unlawful" father-in-law received the title of akhmal'k and became, as it were, a lawful clan for marriage unions. As such instances increased, the bride price, whose exclusive genesis had been forgotten, became the general rule in all marriages, even with lawful clans.

Such, perhaps, was the origin of the bride price among other peoples as well.

*614 615 796 574 182

Another weighty factor which consolidated the bonds between matrimonial clans is the participation of the pandf'y in the bear festival.

In the sense of cementing interclan relations it plays almost a greater role than the Olympic games for the tribal unification of the Greeks. The bear festival takes place every winter, now in one, now in another settlement, while in populous settlements a rare winter passes without a festival. Attendance at such a festival involves no difficulties. The sled, which every household possesses, is harnessed, and off they go; the rest is not the guest's worry.

Everywhere on the road, as in the village where the festival is held, his dogs will be fed and he himself will be treated to the choicest dishes. And in return for the small annoyance of travel there is a whole array of high social gratifications: in the first place, the very rite of the festival -- the procession, the shooting at the target, the killing, the skinning of the bear, etc.; then, meetings with the ablest and most respected representatives of the tribe; finally, the competition /126/ in wrestling, races, and dances, the feasts, conversations, jokes, and songs, in a word, an endless series of enjoyments. Against the somber background of his gray existence, the hungry days, the deprivations, dangers, and monotonous impressions, the bear festivals appear as the most joyous moments of existence, as it were, landmarks of everyday life which one recollects and dreams about. But these noisy, populous festivals are strictly regulated. Besides clansmen, only ymgi are invited, and these have the right to invite their own ymgi but akhmal'k do not participate at all.

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This rule is so strictly observed that the very host who has been most diligent in receiving and making presents to his ymgi is not even invited by the latter to the festival, but, on the other hand, he will be the honored guest of his own akhmal'k. Thus there is formed an uninterrupted chain, uniting the long series of clans in their socio-religious festivals.

We have already said something in the section on religion about the important part played by the ymgi in the bear festival. One goes out many versts to meet them and gives them the most honored function at the festival, namely, the killing of the bear, and all this time they are the center of attention for the whole clan. They are everywhere fed to the bursting point, dragged around from yurt to yurt, and, finally, before departure given a large part of the bear carcass. All these acts of hospitality and respectful attention are crowned with serious religious rites, sanctifying the fraternal union of the clans. At the beginning of the festival, the ymgi exchange nich'i (symbol of united co-operation in hunting, see above) with the host; before departure, the ymgi presents to his akhmal'k in parting dogs, which, together with the dogs of the latter, will go to the master of the mountains, the common sustainer of the clan; and at the last moment the ymgi performs the ceremony of the "trampling of the threshold" (see above). Such things are not formalities for primitive man; they strengthen the ties of kinship with the higher sanction of religious authority.

But these ties are not limited only to occasional "sustenance" hospitality, invitations to hunts, and festivals.

* 614 615 621

They go still further, rising in their intensiveness to the power of a true clan bond. When a man has few clansmen, or he gets along badly with them, he leaves his native settlement and goes to live forever with his pandf'y. This is why, by the way, there are so few settlements made up of inhabitants belonging to one clan; everywhere /127/ clansmen are intermixed with their ymgi or akhmal'k'i. But these ties prove of

*614 /127 cont./ But these ties prove of
615 particular value in matters of revenge. In urgent cases, when
621 a clan involved in war proves weak, the pandf'y assist it to
628 "raise the bones" and to protect itself against attack with the same selflessness as they show toward their own clansmen. Only in the payment of tkhusind may the pandf'y not participate. Still more valuable, perhaps, are the matrimonial ties in the matter of the reconciliation of clans, especially when the hostile clans are pandf'y to each other, as not infrequently happens, and we have already expressed in the section on revenge our own belief that the institution of blood money itself, in all probability, owes its origin to the beneficial influence of women and the religio-social bonds which tie together the matrimonial clans.

*614 Such are the relations between the akhmal'k and ymgi clans,
615 relations which broaden the narrow framework of the closed
609 clan and extend its sympathies to a whole series of foreign clans. This is a whole school of social training, a school of benevolence, hospitality, compassion, and, finally, social good-breeding. In this school are formed those social habits and feelings which finally become stronger than interclan ties and are transformed into sympathy for a whole tribe and finally for people in general. The term navkh, which the members of the ymgi and akhmal'k clans of the corresponding generations give to each other, has finally become the customary appellation with which any member of another clan or stranger is addressed. This formal change is none other than the expression of a true and profound change in attitude toward members of other clans.

609 Hospitality, courtesy, compassion -- these are virtues
574 which the Gilyak in reality practice toward all without dis-
[157] crimination, not only toward tribesmen of other clans, not only toward indigenous neighbors of other tribes, such as the Orok, the Goldi, and the Ainu, but also toward newcomers, the Tungus, the Yakut, and, finally, the Russians, who have done them so much harm. How often have escaped convicts slain whole families of Gilyak after the most hospitable

/127 cont./

609 reception, and nonetheless only in the rarest cases will the
574 Gilyak refuse to tender his hospitality to the Russian who has
609 wandered his way. Where the Gilyak have dealt cruelly with
829 such fugitives (1), it was only in pursuance of clan vengeance
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for slain clansmen -- just what they consider their duty to do
with respect to /128/ their own tribesman-murderer. But
isolated acts of this sort do not at all change their general
186 relations with members of other tribes. There are, of course,
609 among the Gilyak, as among civilized peoples, national
829 prejudices, but they are to be attributed entirely to ignorance,
to lack of acquaintance with strange, unknown elements, giving a wide play to fantastic notions and fears. These prejudices exist among them even toward their own tribesmen who live in more remote regions. Thus the Gilyak of the western shore of Sakhalin are wont to represent their tribesmen of the Okhotsk shore as little short of cannibals, at any rate as extremely evil and inclined to theft, although this is the purest prejudice, the result of ignorance or generalizations from single cases. In the very same way after the first expeditions of our Cossacks in the seventeenth century the Gilyak called the Russians nothing other than *kinr* (devil), but then the Cossacks gave abundant cause for it, not only by their strange outer appearance, their novel garments and arms, but by a whole string of senseless cruelties and brigands' greediness for "the forties of forties" of valuable fur pelts. But now that the Gilyak have met peaceful Russian people, they recall their ancient "prejudice" as a funny anecdote and can conduct themselves with true humanity toward their neighbors.

174 But we have strayed somewhat from our main theme. We
*614 can now resume it.
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1. The Gilyak regard Russian fugitives as *one clan*, the representatives of which answer for one another.

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174 *614 615 Those manifest social habits and feelings which we observe in the contemporary Gilyak, which he indisputably acquired in the beneficial school of social relations, originally developed among the matrimonial clans and from them were gradually transferred first to every tribesman, later to neighbors of other tribes, and finally to man in general.

But the source of social ties between the matrimonial clans *akhmal'k* and *ymgi*, as we have seen, is rooted in that wonderful organization of the Gilyak *clan*, to the analysis of which we have devoted this chapter. In this evolution from the egoism of the closed clan through ties with *pandf'y* of other clans, close by blood, to sympathy and humanity for all men, both close and distant, is contained, perhaps, the most instructive conclusion of our long analysis. From that moment when the rule that a man should marry the daughter of his uncle on the mother's side was established, there was also laid the firm foundation for the extensive growth of social habits and feelings.

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The Social Organization of the Gilyak

(Family and Marital-Sexual Norms)

I.

Introduction

Upon superficial acquaintance the structure of the Gilyak family and its sexual norms appear to be so simple, conventional, and similar to ours that they can mislead even the serious observer. The well-known academician Leopold Schrenck, who lived among the Gilyak for more than two years and left us the well-known, multi-volumed monograph on this tribe, was profoundly convinced that he was dealing with the ordinary patriarchal-monandrous family. This appeared so obvious to

114 /129 cont./ This appeared so obvious to
595 him that he explains the opposing view of Siebold, too categorically affirmed, it is true, based on the report of the eighteenth century Japanese traveler Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/, that "the northwestern shore of Sakhalin (i.e., the territory of the Gilyak) is the only country in the world where polyandry, by force of law or custom, is practiced" (1), not by the inaccuracy of the observations of Mamio Rinso, whom he considers an excellent observer, but by his personal bitterness against the Gilyak because the Gilyak women compelled him to perform manual labor like all the other men (2). "Among the Gilyak," says Schrenck in conclusion, "neither on Sakhalin nor on the continent, nor anywhere else, does polyandry exist."

[113] 1. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169.

2. "Not wishing to accuse Mamio Rinso of pure fictionalizing," says Schrenck, "we cannot refrain from assuming that he was motivated by personal reasons, which, muddling his testimony, gave ground for various interpretations... Vanity and the fear of lowering himself in the eyes of the government (on account of his servile position) impelled the traveler to explain his humiliating position among the Gilyak by the custom of their country" (i.e., polyandry and the domination of women). Schrenck, Ob inorodtsakh Amurskago kraia /Concerning the Natives of the Amur Region/, 1903, Vol. III, p. 19. [113]

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114 595 In his own way Schrenck was right; it was perhaps impossible for him personally to notice the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, for in effect it is impossible to find among the Gilyak open, public polyandry in the form /130/ in which those who have never seen it in life picture it to themselves. On the other hand, the statements of Mamio Rinso are also quite uncertain, since due to his ignorance of the language he could note only a factual looseness in relations, but he could never grasp the *chief essence, the normativeness, the lawfulness of the sexual* relations that he observed.

In order to discover the polyandrous nature of Gilyak marriage, it is necessary to penetrate deeply into the most intimate aspects of Gilyak life, know their language, live a long time with them in their yurts (which helped Rinso see that which escaped Schrenck), and, in any case, become familiar with their kinship nomenclature, which Schrenck, due to his slight acquaintance with the language, completely failed to accomplish (1).

1. Certain information given by Schrenck in this regard can only mislead the reader. Thus, for example, he completely erroneously affirms that a man gives to his mother and to the sister of his father the identical designation "ymk." See Schrenck, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 6. Probably the individual who gave Schrenck this information was speaking, not of the sister of the father, but of the sister of the mother.

58 [595] To the superficial observer, the institution of Gilyak marriage actually does not present anything peculiar. By all outward indications the wife or the wives of the Gilyak (polygamy -- two, three, or four wives -- is permitted by Gilyak custom) represent his individual property. The wife

[591] is purchased by the husband for a very high price from her

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58 agnates, the father or her brothers; she makes her permanent
[591] residence in his home, follows him in his journeyings and emigrations, and before all the world is considered the personal
wife of the Gilyak who purchased her and the mother of his
59 children. The children belong exclusively to the father and
[851] succeed him after his death. After the birth of the first child,
husband and wife cease to call themselves by their former
[551] names and begin to be called by the name of the newborn
[553] (*"the father of so-and-so, the mother of so-and-so"* --
teknonymy). The exclusive rights of the husband to his wives
[684] apparently are sanctioned by the right of retribution, even
bloody retribution, upon the infringer on his conjugal rights.
[614] The clan is based on the principle of agnation, exogamous
marriage. One can travel over the whole territory of the
Gilyak, live in their yurts, long observe their family life,
and note nothing extraordinary. In the large winter yurts, the
inhabitants occupy their places by families, each living with
regard to its own particular interests. Between husband and
wife or wives and their children, harmony and tender /131/
relations prevail. Cases of a striking attachment between
spouses are not infrequent; when one of them dies, the other
sometimes lays hands on himself or dies of grief.

*601 In a word, to all appearances we are dealing here with a
121 type of individual family which is generally accepted as being
125 patriarchal and in any case not polyandrous. Such were my
[59] own personal impressions at first. But my first inquiries in the
realm of kinship nomenclature awoke serious doubts in me,
and I therefore determined first of all to make a detailed study
of this aspect of their relations. The study of the kinship
nomenclature, it appeared to me, could be most successfully
accomplished by a systematic census of the population. With
[114] this objective, I undertook during the winter of 1891 my first
census of the Gilyak villages on the western shore of northern
Sakhalin, and as a result I discovered their complex classificatory
system of kinship and their peculiar form of group marriage (1).

[113] 1. At the time the account of this was

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presented by the author to the Moskovskoe obshchestvo liubitele estestvoznaniia /Moscow Society of Friends of Natural Science/ and appeared under the title "Sakhalinskie giliaki /The Sakhalin Gilyak/" in 1893 in the organ of this society, Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie (1893, Book 2). In the foreign press there was a review of this article by Friedrich Engels in Die Neue Zeit, 1892-93, XI Jahrgang, B.I.

Subsequent censuses in other districts of the Gilyak territory (1891-94) gave me a full and comprehensive picture of their kinship nomenclature and sexual relations, with all their variants, in the different clans and dialects. In particular, during these years I succeeded in becoming acquainted with the unique family structure among the Sakhalin Ainu, sharply differentiated by the typical peculiarities of their maternality /materniteta/. In 1895 and 1896 I investigated in the same respect the Tungus tribes of the Priamur krai /the Amur region/, where I discovered a fully developed classificatory system of kinship resembling that of the Gilyak, but differing significantly from the latter. Thus I gathered sufficient material for a comprehensive comparison of both the kinship terminology and the clan-family mode of life of all the representatives of the Priamur krai.

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In view of the extreme importance of the kinship terminology for an understanding of the whole structure of the family and clan of the Gilyak, and in view of the extensive disputes that have recently arisen in scientific circles over the classificatory system of kinship and its significance, I consider it necessary to survey it in all its details.

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6

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II.

Terms and Forms of Kinship

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Before proceeding to the kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak itself, it will not be without interest to dwell on the question: to what degree is this nomenclature independent in the formal sense of the word, what is its relationship to the kinship nomenclature of their neighbors -- the Ainu and Tungus peoples of the Priamur krai, and through the latter to the Ural-Altaic group of peoples in general, for in that ceaseless process of mingling which inevitably took place between the Gilyak and their neighbors, borrowings in this field in particular would be noticeable. We shall give below a special sketch of the nomenclature and norms of marriage among the Ainu, as well as among the Tungus peoples. We shall see that these peoples also have classificatory systems of kinship, although considerably different from that of the Gilyak, and it will be all the more interesting to elucidate to what extent these kinship designations resemble each other.

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We shall begin with the Ainu. Taking into account a priori the reckoning of kinship through the mother and other sharp features of maternality, in contrast to the agnatic principle of the Gilyak, one could say that there must be little similarity between the kinship designations of the two peoples. Indeed, the only term which has a complete phonetic resemblance is the term "aki," but in Gilyak, as in the Tungus languages, it signifies elder brother, while in Ainu, on the other hand -- younger; thus the correspondence may be completely accidental. Other Ainu terms which sound more or less like the Gilyak, for example, "acha" -- uncle, "nana" -- mother (Kurile Islands) again do not correspond in meaning: the Gilyak "achk" signifies mother-in-law /wife's mother/, aunt, grandmother; "nanakh" -- elder sister. The remaining terms do not have the faintest similarity to each other. One could assume that there would be a much greater

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Ainu AB6
Tungus RU5
Goldi RX3

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T /132 cont. /one could assume that there would be a much greater
601 similarity with Ural-Altaic, especially Tungus idioms, since
171 in both the reckoning of kinship and other peculiarities of their
[648] norms, Gilyak marriage is very close to them, and, moreover, the intercourse between these peoples has from distant
times been more intimate than with the Ainu. Nevertheless,
G here, too, the isolated Gilyak language to a significant degree
*601 remains true to itself. Only a few terms are so close that they
171 give a basis for assuming reciprocal borrowing. First of all,
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601 one's attention is drawn to the term designating the class of
171 elder brothers; Gilyak -- "akand, aka, aki," general Tungus --
Gi /133/ "a'ga, aki," Olcha – "akha, aki," general Turkic –
[601 "aga, akyn, akhun." Among the Tungus peoples, in contrast
191] to the Gilyak, this term, in addition to the elder brother, also
designates the younger brother of the father, while in Turkic
it denotes the brother of the father in general, which in Gilyak
has two completely independent names -- "ytk" (father) and
"pilang"; the latter term, incidentally, means the same as
"a'ga" in Tungus, i.e., elder.

Furthermore, one may consider as common to all the root
Gi "ap, app": in Gilyak -- "app, appyk," among the Tungus
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601 peoples (Olcha, Orochi, Orok) -- "apan'ga, ypan'ga," used by
171 both for designating the father-in-law /wife's father/ (by the
G Gilyak -- also for the brother of the mother), and by the
*601 Tungus tribes in many other meanings which do not correspond
171 to the Gilyak terms. Among the Mongols, Turks, and Yakut
this root is also encountered in the forms "aba'ga, apa'ga" --
elder brother of the father, "apa" (among other Turks) -- elder
sister. About this term "app, appyk" among the Gilyak, one
can say with great confidence that in their language it is a
direct borrowing, since right alongside of it, other, purely
Gilyak terms -- "atk, akhmalk" -- are used, and even more
frequently than "appyk," and it is noteworthy that it is on the
Amur, where the Gilyak territory borders directly on Tungus
territory, that the term "app" is encountered most frequently.
Further, we note the possibility of common roots in the following terms, which, however, do not completely correspond in

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meaning: Gilyak as'kh -- younger brother, and Goldi achkha -- younger brother of the father (Birar); Goldi edi -- husband, and Gilyak edr: -- wife's father, father-in-law; Gilyak ytk -- father, atk -- wife's father, achk -- wife's mother, and northern Tungus ətki -- father and older brother of the wife, and atki -- mother and sister of the wife (1), and some others that are more doubtful,

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1. Iokhel'son /Jochelson/, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

such as, for instance, Mongol omok, otok -- clan, and the rare Gilyak forms ota -- father, oma -- mother. There is no doubt that the Gilyak term ivy -- brother's wife, has been borrowed from the Tungus, corresponding to yvy among the Olcha, since among the Gilyak this term is found only in the territory bordering on the Olcha; in other places, the indigenous Gilyak word an'g:ej is used exclusively. In the Turkic languages, besides the above-mentioned aga, akun, and akhyn, we find similar sounding forms in ər --man, husband, hero (Mongol ere), "er" -- an adult person (Gilyak er: -- father); ata, aba, apa -- (Gilyak ota, yta); achchi (old Turkic) -- elder brother, uncle on the father's side (Gilyak ychkh -- old man, husband), and, finally, og:lan -- young man, youth, boy, and o:l -- son, child). Then /134/ perhaps something of interest is offered by the Koryak terms phonetically close to Gilyak, achiche, itchei, ap (Gilyak achik, itch, ap).

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Such are the slight similarities reflected in the Gilyak kinship terms and those of their close and distant neighbors on the Asiatic mainland.

It is difficult to say with absolute certainty what the origins of these similarities were. As the comparative study of kinship terms among the most widely separated peoples shows, particularly in the designations for father and mother, which often turn out to be simple sound-imitations, very striking, but nevertheless undoubtedly accidental coincidences are possible.

Yukagir RV3

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*601 171 In particular, it is not without interest to point out that the most undoubtedly identical term among the Gilyak and the Tungus-Turkic peoples, "aki, aʼga" -- older brother, might very well be easily linked with the ancient Hebrew "akh" -- brother, just like the Gilyak "oma" -- mother and the ancient Hebrew "em," but conclusions from such comparisons would, of course, be extremely hazardous. On the other hand, there would be nothing strange if single terms, even such important ones as "aki," turned out to be borrowed. Linguistics gives us not a little evidence of this. For example, in the Osman language such cardinal terms as father and mother turned out to be borrowed: the designation for father -- "peder" -- was borrowed from the Persian, and the designation for mother -- "valide" -- was taken from Arabic. In another Turkish dialect, namely that of the Taranchi, only one term turns out to have been borrowed from the Persian, "khvar" -- sister.

Y 601 171 177 Another example is still more instructive. In a tundra clan of the Yukagir (the one most mixed with the Lamut), four of the most cardinal terms of relationship are borrowed: "ama, ənə, aka, əkə" -- father, mother, older brother, older sister; all the others (the majority) have remained purely Yukagir. Iokhel'son (1), reporting these facts, quite correctly explains this strange fact of partial borrowing by noting that the borrowed terms coincide in meaning with the Yukagir terms, but everywhere else the Yukagir kinship system differs sharply from that of the Tungus.

G *601 171 Be that as it may, whatever may have been the origin of the indicated affinities between the Gilyak and Tungus Turkic kinship terms, be they the result of chance /135/ coincidence or the result of ethnic interactions, they are so insignificant that the extensive kinship nomenclature of the Gilyak remains completely independent, not only in its content, but also with regard to its lexicon, and, taking into account the incessant

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1. Iokhel'son, Materialy, 240.

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*601 171 process of mixing between the Gilyak and their neighbors, one can only be surprised that these kinship terminologies turn out to have so little in common.

The etymologies of the Gilyak kinship terms themselves testify to this uniqueness of the Gilyak terminology with great palpability; the greater part of them can be traced all the way back to their original roots, which points to their firm stability over a long period of time (1).

1. This cannot be said with regard to many historic peoples. Thus, for example, as the famous Turkish specialist, V.V.Radlov /W. Radloff/, has reported to me, among the Turks, judging by Orkhon and Uigur monuments, the kinship terminology, starting from the tenth century and with the exception of one or two terms, has changed completely, even in such forms as father and mother, and so forth.

*601 We shall adduce a few examples. Thus, the group "ytk" -- father, "atk" -- grandfather, uncle on the mother's side, "ytik" -- grandmother, "ychkh" -- old man, husband, "achkh" -- aunt, sister of the father, "ut-ku" -- man, (western dialect) have a common root "ut, yt" -- body; the group "ymic" -- mother, "ymg:i" -- son-in-law, son of the sister, "um-gu" -- woman (western dialect) have the common root "um." Further, "an'g:ej" -- wife, from "an'kh" -- female; "az'mych" -- beloved, husband, man (western dialect), from "av" -- male and the verb "mych" -- to be, to become. The group "shank, shankh, rankh" -- woman and "ranzh" -- sister, etc. is of interest.

*601 184 197 Dialectal differences in kinship designations remain to be discussed. These differences are of a minor nature. In the fundamental terms there are either no differences whatever,

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*601 or the differences are of an insignificant phonetic character.
184 Thus, for example, "ytk, ymk" -- father, mother -- are
197 completely identical in all dialects; "ruvn, tuvn" -- brother (eastern dialect) are slightly changed to "ruf" in the western dialect; "og:la, og:lang" in the Tym' and the eastern dialect of Sakhalin are equivalent to "o:la" in the western dialect. In cases where the terms are completely different phonetically, this is due either to borrowing from very near neighbors, as in the previously mentioned "app" and "ivy," or to the formation of corresponding terms from different synonyms common to all dialects. Thus, for example, "shankh" -- woman in the eastern dialect has been formed from the common word "an kh" -- female, and "um-gu" -- woman in /136/ the western dialect has the same root as the common word "ym(k)" -- mother; in exactly the same way "ut-ku" -- man in the western dialect has the same root as "ytk" -- (father), and the corresponding az'mych in the eastern dialect is from azh -- male, etc.

[104] In the table of kinship nomenclature and the explanations for it, we shall give the terms according to dialects and territories, indicating in parenthesis the dialect of the Amur with the abbreviation (A.D.), the dialect of the Tym' -- (T.D.), the dialect of the eastern shore of Sakhalin --(E.D.), and of the western (W.D.). From here on in the text we shall always use the first of the synonyms of the eastern dialect.

*601 Now we proceed to the explanation proper of the kinship
614 terminology. We only forewarn the reader that the Gilyak
104 reckon kinship through the male line and that the agnatic
[611] family is only a cell of the strictly organized, exogamous, agnatic clan. We also ask the reader to remember that at the mention of this or that term without any special indication of whether it is used by males or females we shall imply that these terms are used identically by both sexes; in other cases the sex of the speaker will be specifically indicated.

/136 cont./

614 602 Forms of kinship. According to the basic structure of Gilyak marriage law, relationship by marriage must coincide with kinship. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship, which may be called: agnate kinship and cognate kinship. The first embraces all persons bound together by a common origin from one forefather, that is, all individuals born or adopted into one or another clan. Upon marriage, women pass into the clan of their husbands. There are two kinds of cognate kinship: the first embraces that clan or those clans to which the women -- agnates of a given clan -- are given in marriage; the second embraces that clan or clans from which a given clan or its separate members have drawn their wives.

614 615 602 The persons bound together in agnate kinship are united under the common name "k:khal-n'ig:yvyn" or simply k:khal -- the people of the clan, clansmen (from k:khal -- clan, n'ig:yvyn -- person). With respect to the first group of cognates, i.e., to the members of the clan or clans which take or have taken their wives from the k:khal-n'ig:yvyn, these latter and their whole clan are united under the common designation of akhmalk (fathers-in-law) and, conversely, ymg:i (sons-in-law /zyat'ya, "sons-in-law" or "brothers-in-law" in Russian/). On the other hand, in relation to the second group of cognates, i.e., that clan or those clans from which they themselves take women, they are ymg:i (sons-in-law) and, conversely, akhmalk. Both cognate groups in relation to the first, and all three among themselves, bear /137/ the characteristic designation pandf (from pandynd -- to be born), that is, consanguineous, bound by a common origin (1) through women. Thus, relationship

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[114] *[601] 1. Schrenck (III, p. 23) quite erroneously asserts that kinsmen on the father's side, i.e., agnates, members of one and the same clan, call each other ngafk, and that kinsmen on the mother's side call each other amal'. In reality, both terms, on

614 /137 cont./
615 the contrary, designate exclusively
602 relationship either through the mother
*601 or through the wife, but under no con-
114 ditions on the father's side. Kinsmen
through the father bear the name al-
ready mentioned by us: k:khal, k:khal-
n'ig:yvyn.

614 Thus, relationship
602 by marriage and cognate relationship are completely identical
concepts among the Gilyak. We shall see how this has come
614 about upon examining the marriage norms. Now, let us pro-
*601 ceed to an examination of each category of kinship separately.
602 Agnate kinship, kinship within the clan. Within the clan the
Gilyak distinguish only three lines: 1) the ascending generation "the generation of my fathers"), without distinguishing between direct and collateral lines, since the brothers of the father are called by the same term as own fathers; they only distinguish the generations of the ascending line; 1st generation, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, etc.;

2) the descending generation ("the generation of my children"), in which by children is understood not only the descendants of the speaker and of the whole class of his own brothers and collateral brothers of all degrees, but all the subsequent descending generations of these persons;

3) within each generation the lines of collateral kinship, embracing the class of brothers and sisters (own and collateral), the so-called class "tuvn."

In addition, in each generation of clansmen the class of husbands and wives is distinguished.

The class of brothers and sisters ("tuvn"). For a better understanding of what is to follow we shall begin with that class called tuvn (2). The peculiarity of this term consists first of

[184]
[197] 2. A term borrowed from the eastern dialect; in the western dialect it is ruf.

/137 cont./

614 all in the fact that it embraces persons of both sexes alike; *601 it equally signifies brother and sister. Another peculiarity -- 602 still more important -- consists in the fact that under tuvn are understood not only own brothers and sisters, i.e., the children of one father, but also the children of all brothers of the father, own and collateral of all degrees of kinship, i.e., male and female first cousins, second cousins, etc. in the male line. Thus, within the clan, all the male and female agnates of the same generation are brothers and sisters; male and female cousins in the male line and likewise a married woman and the wives of the brothers /138/ of her husband are tuvn *601 in relation to each other. But a man, as we shall see, can 602 have tuvn outside his clan as well, namely, the children of those persons outside his clan whom he calls father and mother (see the class of fathers and mothers). Within this class there is one large and important subdivision that plays a leading role in both terminology and sexual norms, namely, the one for those persons who are older than the speaker or person referred to and persons younger than he, namely, "akand, aki" -- elder brother or sister (tuvn) and "aśkhand, aśkh" -- younger brother or sister (tuvn). For the designation of the elder sister, in view of the peculiarity of her position in sexual rights, there is in addition the term "nanakhand, nanakh, nankh" -- identically used in reference to her by both men and women. Certain special terms for separate categories of this class, however, have been developed. Thus, there is a general term to designate the concept of "sister" in the class sense, namely, ranr: (same root as rankh -- sister). One meets (very rarely, however, and only in poetry) the term "kivung, kiun" -- brother (1). Descriptive forms are

[538]

1. "Chikhys' kivung khendra" -- "I considered you a brother," says the heroine to her beloved in one song. "Kiun" could also be formed from the rare form akikhun.

/138 cont./

*601 likewise used to distinguish own from collateral tuvn, namely:
602 "os'kyr: tuvn" -- own brother or sister, "tukor: tuvn" -- male cousin, female cousin in the male line. But all these designations do not constitute links in the general kinship terminology and the norms of sexual intercourse bound up with it. If you ask any two agnates of one generation, no matter how distantly related, how they address each other, you receive the answer: either simply tuvn, or aki (elder tuvn), or as'kh, depending on the person answering.

Concerning the question of seniority between collateral brothers, this is defined, not by seniority in the ascending line, but by the actual seniority of the cousins themselves, while in doubtful cases the question is decided by the old men.

*601 Ascending line. Within this line there are only two gradations for each sex: 1) fathers and grandfathers, 2) mothers and grandmothers.

Grandfathers and grandmothers. The term "atk," more rarely "app, appyk," designates all the males in the ascending line of the father, i.e., not only grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc., but also their brothers, own and collateral i.e., their class of tuvn -- men. In precisely the same way the terms of the female category, achik, ytik, ychik, serve to designate the grandmothers, great-grandmothers, etc. and their sisters -- the wives of grandfathers and great-grandfathers and their "brothers" (tuvn). /139/ If a Gilyak in one instance or another has to designate a person of this category more precisely, he resorts, as we do, to a descriptive device; for instance, wishing to name the younger brother of his great-grandfather, he says: "n'i er: atk pilang" -- "the uncle (younger) of the grandfather of my father," etc., but such cases are rare, since such degrees of kinship play no role in marital questions.

The class of fathers and uncles in the father's line. It is necessary here to distinguish two forms, evidently reflecting two successive stages of marriage and sexual norms.

/139 cont./

*601 184 197 The Gilyak who speak the western dialect, i.e., the Gilyak of the continent and the western shore of Sakhalin, especially beginning from the settlement of Vaaz and to the north of it, use the same terms, "ytk" and so on (1), to designate, besides own father, all his male tuvn, i.e., his own and collateral brothers and, in addition, all the husbands of the sisters of his mother, while in certain places, specifically in the settlement of Tamlevo and to the north of it, together with "ytk" and its synonyms still another term is used to designate the brothers of the father -- "pilang," corresponding in meaning to the analogous Tungus a'ga -- elder. Another group speaking the eastern dialect draws a distinction between "brothers" (tuvn) younger than the father, and "brothers" (tuvn) older than the father. It is for the first that it uses without distinction the terms ytk -- father and pilang -- elder, while for the second it uses the term atk, i.e., the same as the designation for grandfather. In colloquial language, and especially in texts, this group also uses without distinction the term "father" (ytk and its synonyms) both for own father and for all his "brothers" (tuvn). This is reflected with special vividness in the customary use of the term "father" in the plural; for example, n'ytkhun -- plural of ytk, father -- literally -- "my fathers," signifies "father" and his "brothers" (tuvn), without distinguishing ages. From this one may conclude that the first form of a single term for the designation of the father and his "brothers" is more ancient and was at one time dominant, but was squeezed out under the influence of changes in the sexual norms.

The class of mothers. While in the terminology of the foregoing class there are differences between the eastern and western Gilyak, both groups are completely in accord with

600 respect to the class of mothers. Every Gilyak, man and woman,

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1. A full enumeration of the terms-synonyms is given below in the table.

/139 cont./ Every Gilyak, man and woman,
*601 [184] uses one and the same term for "mother" (ymk and synonyms), not only for his own mother, but also for the following groups of persons: 1) all the "sisters" /140/ (female tuvn) of his mother; 2) all the wives of the "brothers" of his father (1);

[177] [563] 1. The sole exception that I found during the time of the census in the settlement of Kol' was one case in which the wife of the older brother of the father is called by the Tungus term yvej, which is explained by the presence in the settlement of persons of Tungus origin.

3) all the wives of his father, i.e., his stepmothers; 4) outside the clan: all the "sisters" of persons of the akhmalk class (concerning this, see below).

[197] [184] [614] The class of "wives" within the clan. The designation most in use for wife in both dialects is ańkh, ańg:ej. Within the clan the Gilyak gives this name, not only to his official wife, but also to all her "sisters" (i.e., female tuvn), to the wives of all his elder "brothers" (i.e., aki), and, finally, to all the sisters of the wives of these last. To the wives of the class of younger "brothers" (aśkh) the Gilyak gives the name of jokho, jokh /see yokh, p. 76/, the same term which the father-in-law or mother-in-law applies to his or her daughter-in-law /nevestka, "daughter-in-law" or "sister-in-law" in Russian/. Only an insignificant [171] number of Gilyak on the Amur, due to their proximity to the Olcha, took from the latter the special designation ivy for the wives of all brothers without distinction (2).

2. Among the Olcha, a man calls the wife of his older brother yvy.

It is especially characteristic that "wives" of the tuvn class, no matter who they may be by origin, call one another "sister" (tuvn), and, depending on the age of their husbands, one calls

/140 cont./

*601 the other nankh and as'kh -- older "sister," and, conversely, -- younger "sister."

The class of husbands. The class of husbands corresponds to the terminology of the foregoing class -- "wives." Within the
[614) clan of her husband the woman gives the name of "husband" (pu, ivn, o'kono, etc.), not only to her official husband, but also to the representatives of the class of his "brothers" (tuvn),
*601 with, however, the following variations. The eastern Gilyak
184 and a part of the western Gilyak differentiate between the
197 younger "brothers" (tuvn) of the husband and the elder ones; a woman calls the former pu, ivn, o'kono, i.e., as her own formal husbands, and she calls the latter atk. The Gilyak of northern Sakhalin and the shoreline of the continent do not differentiate between the younger and older brothers of the husband, calling them alike pu, o'kono. Only the Amur Gilyak have a special uniform designation for all the brothers of the husband -- n'orej (= n'i -- my + orej -- husband), a term which sounds like the Goldi kinship term oro.

*601 The class of the descending line. The class of the descending
614 line within the clan, the class og:lang, og:la, is completely defined by the foregoing terms of the class of fathers and mothers. Within his clan every man gives the name of og:la, not only to his own children born of his official wives, but also to all the children of his "brothers" (tuvn), just as /141/ a woman gives the name og:la not only to her own children, but to the children of all the "brothers" of her husband without distinction; but the term og:la is applied not only to the first generation of individuals, but also to all the generations in the descending line, not only one's own, but also those of the whole class of tuvn. Thus, the Gilyak gives the one and the same term og:la not only to his own children and agnate nephews, but to all of their descendants, i.e., grandsons, great-grandsons, etc. Here we see the same phenomenon that we find in the terminology of the ascending line, where the one term "atk" defines all the generations above father and mother.

/141 cont./

*601 In addition to the stated normative cases, the term og:la is frequently applied outside of the rule as a term of endearment to other categories. Thus, a woman frequently applies this term to the son of the sister of her husband, while a man applies it to the son of the brother of his wife, although normally completely different designations are established for these persons.

We shall note two more special forms of designation in this class: one is a descriptive designation of a "kinsman" of the descending line -- os'kyr: og:la -- and one designates primogeniture, ykych, but neither of these terms play any role in either the general system of terminology or the sexual norms.

*601 Cognate kinship. Now we shall proceed to the kinship terms
602 for persons outside the clan, to cognate kinship, which is the
614 key of this system. We have already said that in the Gilyak kinship system relationship by marriage and blood (cognate) kinship are identical, that a special kinship through relationship by marriage is not known to the Gilyak classificatory system. For a better understanding of this strange fact, we begin our survey of kinship outside of the clan with kinship through the mother, that is, with kinship with members of the clan and the whole clan from which the mother of a person came.

First of all, it is noteworthy that all the sisters (tuvn) of my mother, not only own, but also of the class of "mothers," are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of my father and of his class of tuvn. Corresponding to this, all the "sisters" (tuvn) of my mother and of my class of "mothers" are also my "mothers" (ymk), while I and my "brothers and sisters" (tuvn) are their "children" (og:la). On the other hand, my relations to the brother of my mother and his tuvn are even more important. Just as my father calls all the "sisters" of my mother his "wives" (an'g:ej), so I (if "I am a man) from birth call all the daughters of the brother of my mother and their "sisters" (tuvn) -- an'g:ej -- my "wives," and, conversely, they call me their husband (pu); their children call me "father" (ytk), my official wife --

/141 cont./

*601 mother (ymk), while /142/ we call them our "children"
602 (og:la). As for the remaining clansmen and kinsmen of the
614 brother of my mother, the following terminology has been established. If "I" am a man, I and all my "brothers" -- tuvn and my descending line call the brother of my mother and all his male clansmen -- atk, akhmalk (uncle, father-in-law /wife's father/); the wife of the brother of my mother, her "sisters," and the wives of the tuvn of the brother of my mother, as well as the wives of the ascending line of the brother of my mother achk, ytik -- aunt, mother-in-law /wife's mother/, grandmother; the sons of the brother of my mother and his tuvn -- akhmalk, navkh; conversely, all these persons call me -- ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) navkh; my wives, as well as the wives of my clansmen, these persons, according to generation, call either "sisters" (tuvn) or "daughters" (og:la), but our sisters and daughters -- by the one term "niece," n'ern, and, finally, all my clansmen call all the male clansmen of the brother of my mother akhmalk (father-in-law /wife's father/), and, conversely, -- ymg:i -- son-in law -- a survival from the time when there was exchange marriage. This last term is very characteristic; it is from the same root as umgu -- woman, oma -- mother, and testifies to the fact that the term son-in-law /zyat'/ is associated with the idea of cognate kinship, with kinship through the mother.

But especially noteworthy is the fact that the kinship terminology established between me and the generation of the brother of my mother is not limited to the individuals of our common generation, but is correspondingly repeated as well between the persons of all our ascending and descending lines, so that if I, a man, call the daughter of the brother of my mother my an'g:ej, so does my father in turn call his sister, i.e., the daughter of the father of my mother's brother, "wife" -- an'g:ej. In the same way, my son calls the daughter of the son of my mother's brother his "wife," etc., in a word, it is as though every wife of a clansman were actually the daughter of the sister of his father /sic./

/142 cont./

*601 Thus, kinship through the mother establishes, not partial
602 kinship of the family of her husband with her own family, but
614 an indivisible kinship between both clans, extending to each member of each of them. If my clan is A, and the clan of the brother of my mother is B, the latter, as a whole, will be called the akhmalk of A, while A, in its turn, is the ymg:i of B. And, what is especially noteworthy, this relationship remains permanently between both clans. Clan B can no longer under any circumstances be converted into the ymg:i of A. This is evident from the reciprocal terminology of the clans. The designation "akhmalk" of clan B originated, as we have seen, from the fact that members of clan A have whole classes of "wives" (an'g:ej) in this clan; conversely, among the women of clan A the males of clan B only have either sisters (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or /143/ "nieces" (n'ern), but not "wives" (an'g:ej), and for this reason, clan B cannot become A's akhmalk.

The terminology for kinship through the mother defines another form of cognate kinship -- kinship through the sister of the father. As long as she remains in my clan, I call her by the agnate term nankh (elder sister, aunt), and she calls me as'kh (younger brother), but upon marriage she and the clan of her husband stand in the same relation to me and my clan as I and my clan stand in relation to the clan of the brother of my mother, i.e., the husband of the sister of my father and his "brothers" (tuvn) call all the sisters of my father "wives" (an'g:ej), and, conversely, they are called "husbands" (pu); my daughters and those of my tuvn are the an'g:ej of the sons of the sister of my father and their tuvn and are the jokh (daughters-in-law) of all the ascending line of the husband of the sister of my father; the men of my clan, according to the class of the ascending line, are either the atk, akhmalk, or the akhmalk, navkh of the clansmen of the husband of my father's sister, while they are our ymg:i, navkh, and the women of that clan are either our agnates -- "aunts" (nankh), "sisters" (tuvn), "daughters" (og:la), or "nieces" (n'ern); in a word, my clan is the akhmalk clan, while the clan of the sister of my father is the ymg:i clan to us.

/143 cont./

*601 602 614 The terminology of this group is the central point of the whole kinship terminology, for it is according to its pattern, i.e., the pattern of the kinship relations between a man and the brother of his mother, that the entire kinship nomenclature of the marriage relationship in general is constructed. Whomever the Gilyak marries, between him and his clan on the one hand, and his wife and her clan on the other, the kinship terminology established is the same as if his wife were really the daughter of the brother of his mother. Conversely, whomever a Gilyak may give his sister to in marriage, the entire kinship terminology established between the clans is the same as if the brother-in-law /zyat'/ were truly the son of the sister of his father. This is why Gilyak terminology does not recognize kinship through relationship by marriage, for the father-in-law /wife's father/ in any case is the same as the son of the brother of the grandmother, a man's brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of his father, the father of the brother-in-law /zyat'/ is the son of the sister of the grandfather, and so forth. And, consequently, all members of both clans are blood kinsmen.

Thus, keeping in mind the kinship nomenclature of the group of the brother of the mother and the sister of the father, we have a ready scheme for any marriage combination between a husband and the clan of his wife, between a wife and the clan of her husband, between a man and the clan of his married sister, etc. According to this scheme, the relationship of a man toward the clan of his wife, whoever she may be de facto in origin, must, as a general rule, be the following: my father-in-law and /144/ his ascending line, as well as the corresponding classes of their tuvn, are related to me as atk and akhmalk, their wives -- achk, their descending line of the male sex -- akhmalk and navkh; I am their ymg:i, navkh. The sisters of my akhmalk'i are my mothers (ymk), their husbands -- my "fathers" (ytk), I am the son (og:la) of both; similarly the "sisters" (tuvn) of my wife are the "wives" (an'g:ej) of myself and my "brothers" (tuvn), their husbands are my "brothers" (tuvn). Their children call each of us "father" (ytk)

/*144 cont.*/

*601 and "mother" (*ymk*), and call each other "brothers" (*tuvn*).
602 On the other hand, my sisters and daughters are simply nieces
614 to the men of the clan of my father-in-law, and therefore
no one from the clan of my father-in-law can become an
ymg:i of my clan.

[178] At the present time in certain instances breaches have begun to appear in this well-shaped, though strange system of relationships between the son-in-law /*zyat'*/ and the clan of the father-in-law, specifically, when some clansman takes a wife who is not from the clan of his mother or is not even from the customary *akhmalk* clan; in the case of certain clans the terminology loses force in the third generation, but this is a deviation of the newest order.

*601 Now, before we finish with this system, we must underline
614 two more important peculiarities still further complicating
this already complicated system. We have seen that the relationship between the *akhmalk* and *ymg:i* clans remains constant, so that the members of the first clan -- let us call it A (if A is the *akhmalk* of B, then B is the *akhmalk* of a third clan, C, and gives its daughters to the third clan) -- must, in turn, have their own *akhmalk* clan or even clans (let us call it C), while the second clan (let us call it B) must have its own ymg:i clan or even clans (D). Thus, the following kinship terminology is established between these four clans: Clan A gets new *ymg:i* clans (sons-in-law /*zyat'ya*/) in the person of the D clans, while clan B gets new *akhmalk* clans in the person of the C clans. These secondary clans, in distinction from the first, are called *tujma* (distant); for example, *tujma akhmalk* -- distant father-in-law, *tujma ymg:i* -- distant son-in-law /*zyat'*/.

Finally, in view of the fact that at the present time it is not prohibited for various persons of one clan to take wives from various clans, each such marriage establishes in relation to each new clan a whole complex fabric of *akhmalk*-*ymg:i* terminology, i.e., each clan as a whole can be the *akhmalk* and *ymg:i* of a whole series of clans.

/*144 cont.*/

*601 602 In conclusion -- the most noteworthy peculiarity of cognate kinship. In the *akhmalk* clans a man has not only cognates -- uncles, aunts, nieces, but also agnates, "sisters of fathers-in-law," whom /*145*/ he calls "mothers" (*ymk*), their children -- "brothers" (*tuvn*), the husbands of the sisters of his wives -- "brothers" (*tuvn*), their children -- *og:la*, while they call him *ytk*, and so forth.

Thus, by this terminology a man can have male and female agnates outside his own clan. We shall see during our examination of the sexual norms how this strange anomaly may arise.

Now let us look at several separate forms and peculiarities of the kinship terminology.

*601 193 *The term pilang*. In conversational speech, as well as in texts, the adjective *pilang* is quite often used with this or that kinship term. Among other peoples, the addition of this adjective signifies a raising of the degree of kinship one step higher along the ascending line (for example, *father* and *grandfather* in English). Among the Gilyak, it evidently has only one meaning -- namely, to indicate the mature age of a given person. The fact is that in the Gilyak language, owing to the classificatory system, even such terms as father, mother, grandfather, and grandmother, which in our languages sufficiently define the age of the person in relation to the speaker, have no relation whatever to age: not only a "father" and "mother," but even a "grandfather" and "grandmother" may be younger than their "son" or "grandson," and a "son" may be older than his "father" or "grandfather." Therefore, when they wish to indicate that they are referring to adult members of one or another class, or to a person older in years than the speaker, they add the adjective big, adult: *n'vilan n'atk*; *n'vila n'ymka*; *n'bila nanko*; *pila ńig:yvyn*, etc. -- my adult elder "grandfather," "uncle," "father-in-law"; my elder "mother"; my adult "elder sister" or aunt, sister of my father; elderly man.

/145 cont./

*601 [177] Only in one case does *pilang*, in the form *pila n'ig:yvyn* or *pilang*, appear as a kinship term -- namely, in the meaning of younger brother of the father; the synonym *ytk* -- father -- is a term that has evidently been made up under the influence of the Tungus term *a'ga*.

*601 193 *Plural kinship terms*. Due to the classificatory system there has developed the custom of using the plural for such terms as father, mother, wife in reference to a single individual, for example, "*n'i ytkuntokh vind*" -- "I am going to my fathers" (i.e., to the village where the class of the speaker's fathers lives, even though his own father may no longer be alive); "*pytkun lo pymkkhun lo aryr:*" -- "I fed my fathers and mothers."

/146/ Owing to the frequent use of such terms in the plural, a rather curious phenomenon has resulted. In the first place, they have also begun to use the plural a great deal in those cases where by the sense the reference is to only one person, for example: instead of "*cher: shaktokh vind?*" -- "where did thy father go?" they often say, "*cher:kyn shaktokh vind?*" -- "where did thy fathers go?" Another example: "*aka, pytkhun kherja!*" -- "O, elder brother, notify our fathers (1)!" I shall introduce one more characteristic example [538] from one of the texts taken down by me (2). The hero of a

[113] 1. L. Shternberg, *Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora* /Materials for the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, I, p. 13, line 173. Petersburg, 1908. Published by the Academy of Sciences.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 85, lines 108-109; p. 86, lines 120-122.

/146 cont./

*601 story says to his wife: "Wife, I am going to look for my
193 fathers and my mothers." When he found them, it was this
538 way: his mother was sitting on the left-side plank-bed, his father was sitting behind his mother, his uncle (i.e., father's brother) was sitting on the right plank-bed, and a young woman was also sitting there (probably the "sister" of his mother).

*601 It is curious that on the ancient Turkic monuments,
193 namely, in the inscriptions of Koshko-Zaidam, V.V.Radlov
171 likewise found a trace of a similar plural terminology, although in recent times traces of classificatory kinship, except for the term "older brother," have disappeared there entirely. On account of this, when he met in the text the expressions "my mother," "sultana," and "of the mother," he translated the last as stepmother. Having familiarized himself with the classificatory system among the Gilyak, he was inclined to interpret the expression "of the mother" as "of the mothers," a class as distinct from own mother.

*601 On the other hand, the plural sometimes denotes the
193 collective noun for the kinsmen of the related classes, for example: "cher:kyn" (literally, "thy fathers") is used in the meaning of father and mother, father and clansmen; "ńeorankkhun" (literally, "my wives") -- in the sense of the beloved and her girl-friends; "ymg:i kun" (literally, "sons-in-law /zyat'ya/) -- the son-in-law together with his wives.
[171] It is curious that in Yukagir we evidently meet the same phenomenon. I judge this by one case introduced by Iokhel'son, where a man says "my fathers" instead of "my father"; although Iokhel'son admits that the plural could be used out of respect for one's father, nevertheless, as is evident from the context -- "a friend to my fathers will wander" -- the father is being talked about here in his absence, and consequently there is no need for rendering any particular respect.

*601 /147/ The terms of kinship in a figurative sense. It is curious
602 how the kinship terms are reflected in the terms used between
persons who are not married to each other -- sweethearts. It
seems that terms are often transferred into this area from the
[197] matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her sweetheart
[184] o'kono (husband, in the western dialect), az'mych (man, husband, in the eastern dialect), ivn (groom), navkh (from the
terminology of the group of father-in-law and son-in-law
[837] /zyat'/). It is very interesting that the unrelated wives of
"brothers," and, jokingly, men who have an extramarital
relationship with the same women, sometimes call each other
by this last term, as well as by the term akhmalk, while the
terms navkh and akhmalk in practical life have taken on the
meaning of "comrade" or "participant in a common affair."
Thus, the term "navkh" by its meaning in these cases entirely
corresponds with the famous Hawaiian term punalua in the
family group which takes its name from this term.

*601 As a result of our survey of the kinship termonology, we find among the Gilyak a typical classificatory system of kinship.

Summing up the terms for agnate and cognate kinship, we get the following scheme. (See following page.)

I. Tuvn = ruvn (E.D.). ruf (W.D.). In poetry (rarely): kivung.	I. Brothers and sisters (Ger. Geschwister /siblings/): consanguineous and uterine children of own and collateral brothers of all degrees of kinship; the children of own and collateral sisters of all degrees of kinship.
Separately: a) akand, aki -- asʼkhand, asʼkh (E.D.) (1). ykind, yki -- asʼkh (W.D. 1. In personal address these terms take the vocative form, for example: instead of akand -- aka; instead of asʼkh -- asʼkha.	a) Elder brother (tuvn), elder sister (tuvn); younger brother and younger sister (tuvn); wife of the younger tuvn (if "I" am a woman). Seniority in the collateral lines is not determined by the seniority of the fathers, but by the age of the corresponding persons.
b) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.). nynkh (W.D.)	b) 1. Elder sister (tuvn). 2. Wife of the elder tuvn (if "I" am a woman).
c) ranr: (W.D.)	c) Sister in general (own and collateral); tuvn of the female sex.

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d) nanakhand, nankh (E.D.). nynkh (W.D.)	d) Elder sister; sister of the father; sister of the tuvn of the father; mother-in-law /husband's mother/; sister of the mother, if she is married to a non-clansman (in certain places, settlement of Viakhtu), in general in such cases she is ymk.
II. Ymk, Rarely: oma (northern Sakhalin).	II. Own mother and stepmother; wives of all the tuvn of the father; the sisters of the wives of the brothers (tuvn) of the father; the sisters (tuvn) of the mother; the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn.
/148/ III. Ytk, yt. Other forms: er:	III. Father; stepfather; the tuvn of the father (1); husband of the "sister" of the mother; the brother (tuvn) of the husband of the mother's sister; the husbands of the sisters (tuvn) of my father-in-law /wife's father/ and his tuvn; the brothers of the husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law.

1. Among the Gilyak of the continent and the northwestern shore of Sakhalin, especially

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(footnote cont'd)
beginning with Tamlevo; to the south, only in the settlement of Yamy. Among the latter, pilang, n'vil-nivukh, corresponding to the Tungus a'ga, are also used for the younger tuvn of the father, in addition to the term ytk.

a) Ytk or pilang, pila n'ig:yvyn (more frequently the latter).	a) In all cases of III, when the reference is to the younger tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak with predominantly the eastern dialect.
IV. Atk, app, appyk, apo, edr:, etk.	IV. The elder tuvn of the father (among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect); grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. through the mother and the father; the tuvn of grandfathers, of great-grandfathers, etc. (from the maternal and paternal side); fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers, etc. of the husbands of the sister of the mother; fathers, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers (and their tuvn) of the

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	husbands of the sisters of the father-in-law /wife's father/; the elder brother of the husband (among the eastern Gilyak).
V. *Achik*, *acik*, *achk* (E.D.); *asi* (Okhotsk shore); *ychik*, *ytik* (W.D.).	V. The wives of the brothers of the mother and their *tuvn*; the wives of fathers, grandfathers, etc. of the brother of the mother; the wives of the sons of the brothers of the mother; mother, grandmother, etc. of the wife; mother, grandmother, etc. of the sister of the wife and her *tuvn* in general; grandmother, great-grandmother (on the maternal and paternal side).
VI. *Og:lang*, *og:la*, *eg:lang*, *o:la*.	VI. Son or daughter -- children; the children of all the brothers -- *tuvn* (if "I" am a man); the children of the sisters (if "I" am a woman); the children of sisters (*tuvn*) of the wife; the children of the sisters of the wife of the brother; the children of daughters of the brothers of the mother and their *tuvn*.

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VII. An'g:ej, an'kh (to the north of the Amur), an'kh n'um-gu (Amur). Other designations: shank, shankh, ran'kh.	VII. Wife; sister of the wife; wife of the elder tuvn; wife of the son of the sister (tuvn) of the mother; daughter of the brother of the mother and all her tuvn; in certain places on the Amur they also call the wife of the elder tuvn, ivy.
VIII. Jokh, jokho.	VIII. Daughter-in-law /nevestka/; wife of the younger brother (tuvn).
IX. Pu, ivn (E.D.). Pu, if, o'kono (W.D.). Other designations: ychikh, a'zmych, utgu.	IX. If "I" am a woman: husband; son of the sister of the father; tuvn of the son of the sister of the father; husband of the sister; elder tuvn of the husband.

Deviations: 1. On the continent to the north of the Amur, they call all the tuvn of the husband alike, pu, ivn.

2. Likewise on the western shore of Sakhalin in the settlement of Tamlevo and farther north, all tuvn of the husband -- o'kono, also jori; on the Amur -- o'kono, n'orej. Conversely, among the eastern Gilyak they always call the younger brother of the husband, as distinct from the elder, atk, edr:, even er: (see group IV).

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X. Atk, atyk, akhmalk. Synonyms: app, appyk, aryr, arir:, ychkh, arychkh, edr:, eryr: (E.D.). Appak, appyk, app, appo, amal (W.D.).	X. Brother of the mother; tuvn of the brother of the mother; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the brother of the mother and their tuvn; father of the wife, father of the sister (tuvn) of the wife; tuvn of the father of the wife; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the father of the wife and their tuvn; father, grandfather, great-grandfather, etc. of the sister (tuvn) of the wife.

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XI. navkh, akhmalk (more frequently navkh).	XI. Brother of the wife and his tuvn; the children of the brother of the wife and their tuvn.
XII. Ymg:i, emg:i, navkh (E.D.). Synonyms (rare): ashkh, poshkhr: (W.D.). Rak n'ivukh, rag-n'ivuk, ora (the last on the Amur in the neighborhood of the Olcha). As an exception -- o'kon.	XII. If "I" am a man and my wives: -- the son of my sister and of all my female tuvn; son of the sisters of my father and of his tuvn; son of the sisters of grandfathers, etc. and of their tuvn; son-in-law -- husband of my daughter and of her tuvn; the husband of any woman of my clan, of any female agnate; any man of that clan whose members (even if only one) took wives from the clan of the speaker.

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The term o'kon, standing completely isolated, is marked by the fact that it is from the same root as jokh -- daughter-in-law /nevestka/ (daughter-in-law, wife of the younger brother), i.e., a term of forbidden character. Concerning the term navkh, it must be said that it is used most frequently in reference to the husband of the sister and their children of the male sex.

XIII. N'ern.

XIII. If "I" am a man; daughter of the sister (tuvn); the sister of the husband of the daughter and her daughters, and in general of all the women born in the clan whose members ever took wives from the clan of the speaker.

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III.

The Classificatory System of Kinship and the Norms of Sexual Intercourse and Marriage

83 Now we shall see to what degree the aforementioned kin-
[121] ship system corresponds to the contemporary norms of sexual intercourse and marriage.

Among the Gilyak, at least at the present time, we cannot speak of any kind of general prohibitions against extramarital sexual relations.

Sexual relations with a woman in the eyes of a Gilyak is a completely nonchalant and natural act, like any other natural act, satisfying a certain natural need of man. Prohibitions and restrictions apply only to definite circles bound by agnate or cognate kinship. Outside of these circles there is no regulation or censure of sexual behavior, either on the part of public opinion or on the part of religion. Outside of the prohibited circles, sexual relations out of wedlock have only one restriction: the reaction of the one or the other party concerned. Young men of a given clan, having rights to the women of a certain /150/ locality, may be aggrieved at an alien usurper and soundly teach the stranger not to sneak into a territory not his own, which, by the way, happens very rarely. It is a much more serious affair if a married woman is
684 involved. A stranger caught *in flagrante delicto* with a
[178] married woman is slain at the scene of the crime; such was the custom at least until the most recent times; only the fear of penal repression has begun to restrain some from impulsive slayings, which are beginning to be replaced by duels and
684 ransom. The woman suffers less in such cases. They beat her
562 thoroughly, but the affair never goes so far as killing her:
[581] in the first place, because, as we shall see further on, a woman is always considered the cognate of her husband, and, in the second place, because she is an article of value, having cost her husband dearly, and furthermore she is a necessary worker.
684 In any case, the matter is not settled without repression, bloody

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684 for the man, and more or less bloody for the woman. But all
this concerns only cases involving a married woman. Sexual
836 relations with an unmarried woman or with a widow, if it is with
[583] the permission of the woman, do not provoke any reaction,
even on the part of the father or brothers of the wife, notwithstanding
their extreme interest in the bride price which is received
when a woman gets married; I, at least, did not happen
[684] to hear of repressions in such cases. A reaction on the part
of the kinsmen of the woman occurs only in a case of coercion;
then there is the possibility of duels and suits for ransom. Also,
582 at the present time there are no prohibitions against marrying
a person of this category, i.e., persons not bound by kinship.
835 It is another matter with individuals who are bound by the
classificatory terms of kinship. Here there appears on the
scene a complete system of limitations and prohibitions.
Here, against the violators of the prohibitions, there appears
on the scene both a social reaction and the categorical imperative
of religion, under the influence of which there have
developed suitable instincts which have turned artificially
created norms into natural human feelings. We shall dwell
on this aspect of Gilyak psychics in more detail later, when
we speak of sexual morals. Now we shall turn to the norms
of prohibitions and limitations themselves.

These prohibitions and limitations, it turns out, fully
correspond with the kinship nomenclature. Only those persons
who, according to the established class terminology, are
mutually reckoned in the classes "pu" and "an'g:ej," that is,
/151/ who from birth call each other "husband" and "wife,"
have the right to sexual relations with one another and to enter
into matrimony. All the remaining classes are placed under
unconditional prohibition.

835 What are these prohibited classes? First of all there is the
614 extensive class of k:khal, i.e., the persons born into one
common agnatic clan. The Gilyak clan is absolutely
exogamous; among the agnates, as we have seen, there are
no classes that call each other "pu" and "an'g:ej"; neither
marriage nor sexual intercourse is possible among them.

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835 614 114 And therefore we must come out in the most categorical manner against the assertion of Schrenck that the Gilyak clan is endogamous. "Affiliation to the clan," says Schrenck, "does not play any role whatever in the most important phenomenon of their life, namely, in marriage... the Gilyak freely permit marriages between Gilyak of one and the same *kal'a* (clan)" (1). Elsewhere he states even more definitely: "only own brothers and sisters and the children of two own brothers cannot marry" (2). This absolutely false assertion would be completely incomprehensible coming from an investigator who had spent about two years in contact with the Gilyak, if it were not for the fact that Schrenck did not command the Gilyak language and had to make himself understood through a guide. On the basis of many years of association with the Gilyak, in their own language, and of an especially thorough study of marriage law, I can categorically refute this absolutely groundless and antiscientific assertion of Schrenck's; both marriage and sexual relations between persons born in one clan are *absolutely forbidden*.

835 We turn now to the particular classes, within as well as outside of the clan, which are excluded from the right of sexual relations and marriage.

Class of the ascending and descending lines. Classes whose members call each other *atk*, *achik*, *ytk*, *ymk*, *nankh*, and, conversely, *og:la*, i.e., the classes of grandfathers and grandmothers, fathers and mothers, agnates and cognates, uncles and aunts -- on one hand, on the other -- their descendants. Thus, intercourse between ascending and descending lines is excluded not only in the direct, but also in the most distant collateral lines as well: sexual intercourse

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1. Schrenck, II, pp. 23, 24.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

/151 cont./

835 is not permitted either between uncles and nieces or between aunts and nephews (and correspondingly in the classes of their tuvn, both in the agnate and cognate line). But the prohibition in these lines is not limited only to persons of different sexes within these groups; it extends also to the persons who are married /152/ to these individuals, and not only to those actually married to them, but in general to all those who reckon themselves the pu or an'g:ej of one of these persons according to the kinship nomenclature. Thus, for example, if "I" am a man -- my uncle on my father's side (ytk, pilang) not only cannot have sexual intercourse with my wife, but not even with the most distant sister of my wife, even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because I call her an'g:ej -- wife, just as I am forbidden to have sexual intercourse not only with the wife of my uncle on my father's side, but also with the sister of his wife on the father's side, even if she is married to a man of an alien clan, because she is ymk -- mother to me.

But the prohibitions in these groups go still further. From the kinship terminology we know that in the ascending line of a man are reckoned, in addition to the aforementioned categories, the sisters of the father of the wife and their husbands (they are my "mothers" and "fathers"), the father of my wife himself and his wife, and their brothers and sisters (tuvn) and all their ascending line (they are my "uncles" and "aunts"). All these persons are likewise prohibited, according to their sex, to their "son-in-law" /zyat'/ and his "wife" and to the classes of their brothers and sisters (tuvn), as are actual grandfathers and fathers, grandmothers and mothers, and uncles and aunts to their direct or collateral descendants.

But one must not think that the above-mentioned prohibitions between ascending and descending individuals constitute prohibitions between factually different generations. Not at all. The distinction in generations is purely a nominal one; under the classificatory system, when the same terms, ytk, ymk, atk -- father, mother, grandfather, are equally

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835 applied both to individuals of an actually ascending generation (to own father, mother) and to their brothers and sisters, the significance not only of generations, but of ages completely disappears. The brother or sister of the father may be younger than the speaker, although they consider themselves mother and father in relation to the latter, and nevertheless the prohibitions are equally effective by virtue of the kinship classification alone.

Class of tuvn. It consists of two groups -- of 1) the group of the descendants of agnate brothers and male cousins, and 2) the group of the descendants of agnate sisters and female cousins.

Within each separate group in all generations, neither sexual intercourse nor marriage are permissible, which is in complete accord with the kinship nomenclature, since in neither of these groups are there individuals designating each other as pu and an/g:ej; they are all tuvn.

I noted only one deviation with respect to the descendants of sisters, /153/ and that only among certain clans, namely, if sisters are married to individuals alien to each other, the prohibitions are in effect only in the first two generations. But this is a purely local deviation, induced by the extreme inconvenience of the prohibition under conditions of an extreme lack of women. In general the prohibition is strictly observed both among the descendants of brothers and among the descendants of sisters. This prohibition, which is reinforced by a taboo and which seems to us unnatural, has become among the Gilyak an instinctive feeling -- namely, one of prohibition against mutually looking at each other and of conversing (see below). To what degree the prohibitions [825] within this group have gone into flesh and blood, even in the most remote degrees of kinship, even in relation to persons whom they call "tylgund-tuvn" (agnate male cousin), transformed by tradition in their thinking into natural phenomena of nature, we may see by their attitude toward the infraction of this prohibition among their sole domestic animal -- the

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835 825 dog. Among dogs, according to the belief of the Gilyak, brother and sister do not copulate. Exceptions are very rare, and they are attributed to the evil doing of a milk'a (evil spirit). Therefore, when a Gilyak notes such a case of incest, he is obliged to kill the dog; otherwise the sin falls on him. [782] It is true that the slaying takes place as a religious ritual, by means of a ceremony of strangling, and blood is sprinkled to all four quarters of the compass in sacrifice, but for the dogs this is a punishment for incest. It is curious, however, that incest between ascending and descending lines (son and mother, and so forth) among dogs is tolerated by the Gilyak, and they do not kill the criminals (is it not due to utilitarian considerations, since begetters are valued very highly by them?).

835 Cognate male and female cousins. Here, of course, only cognate male and female cousins, i.e., the children of a brother and sister, can be in question, inasmuch as the children of brothers, on the one hand, and the children of sisters, on the other, are considered tuvn, and we have already discussed the complete prohibition within each of these groups. From the kinship nomenclature we know that the terms used in reference to each other by cousins depend on whether the male or female cousin whom they are addressing or of whom they are speaking is the son or daughter of the brother of the mother, or of the sister of the father, namely: If "I" am a man, then I call the daughter of the brother of my mother an'g:ej (wife), and, conversely, she calls me pu (husband), but my sister calls the son of the brother of my mother akhmalk, navkh (father-in-law, husband of the wife's sister), and, conversely, he calls her n'ern -- wife's sister, i.e., terms which have nothing in common with matrimonial terms; and these terms correspond perfectly /154/ to reality. Sexual relations and marriage between the daughter of a sister and the son of her brother (and correspondingly between their tuvn) are not permitted; on the other hand, marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her brother is not only permissible, but is considered a regular phenomenon. And in this case, as in all others, the terms brother and sister are

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835 class terms, i.e., the norms in force between the children
of a brother and sister extend to the children of brothers and
sisters in the most distant degrees of kinship and relationship
by marriage. Thus, an exchange marriage between the
children of brothers and sisters, as is practiced, for example,
among the Tungus peoples, is not permitted; sons have rights
to the daughters of the brother, but the sons of the brother are
prohibited for the daughters of the sister, and this is true for all
[614) classes of tuvn. This norm, which seems of specialized importance
and affects only brothers and sisters, plays an enormous
role in the norms regulating the sexual relations between
entire clans, as we shall see in the next section.

835 614 It is especially surprising that the aforementioned prohibitions which regulate the relations between the children of brother and sister are extended not only to the class of their children -- cousins, but also to both clans in their entirety. The rights and prohibitions which bind together the children of a brother and of his sister and their cousins extend to all the generations of both clans; namely, in each generation, as we have seen in the foregoing section, all the men of the class of tuvn in the clan of the sister and all the women -- tuvn in the clan of the brother call each other reciprocally from birth pu and an/g:ej, and they, in fact, have the right to sexual intercourse and marriage. But the men from the clan of the brother and the women from the clan of the sister are absolutely prohibited for each other in all generations and call each other nanakh (elder sister) if she is in an ascending generation, and n'ern if in the same generation , while the women call these men akhmalk. Thus, the women from the clan of the married sister are prohibited for the entire clan of her brother. It is still more surprising that these norms extend to the clans of the son-in-law /zyat'/ and father-in-law in general, even though the fathers of the spouses are completely alien; it is enough for one member from clan A, let us say, to marry a woman from clan B, even though this woman and the members of her clan are completely alien to

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835 clan A, and the relations established between these two clans 614 are the same as if the father-in-law of the given man were the brother of his mother: the whole class of "sisters" (tuvn) in each generation of the clan of the father-in-law are the wives of the "brothers" (tuvn) of the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and, conversely, the wives of the latter are prohibited for the former.

/155/ The kinship nomenclature corresponds completely to these norms; atk, akhmalk -- designate the mother's brother and the father-in-law in general, ymg:i designates the son-in-law /zyat'/ in general and the sister's son or even any male of the sister's clan. This norm leads to very complicated consequences. It very often happens that separate members of one or another clan, A, we shall say, have taken wives from several different clans and in turn have given their women to several different clans, and at once in relation to all these clans those same prohibitions that we had in the first case when there were only two clans concerned, become valid for clan A, i.e., the women of clan A are forbidden to all the clans from which its members have taken their wives, and, conversely, the women of all clans whose members have taken wives from A are forbidden to clan A. This inconvenient regulation is aggravated still more by the following limitation. Clan B, let us suppose, from which my clan, A, takes women, in turn takes wives from clan C, and at once this clan C, having become the akhmalk of clan B becomes also the akhmalk of my clan, A, and therefore wives from my clan are forbidden not only to clan B, my immediate akhmalk, but also to clan C, which, as we have seen, is called, in contradistinction to the first, "tujma akhmalk" -- (distant father-in-law), and on the Amur -- tun/g:i akhmalk. But this phenomenon also has its converse side. If the quantity of prohibited clans for this or that clan increases proportionately as the number of clans which take women from it increases, nevertheless, on the other hand, as its members begin to take wives from various clans, the number of permitted

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835 women increases correspondingly in these clans of father-in-
614 law, because in each of these clans there is a whole new
[178] class of wives -- ańg:ej. Nevertheless, the extension of
[161] prohibitions to clans of akhmalk'i of the most remote degree
has naturally brought about within a small-sized tribe, with
a population of scarcely four and a half thousand, entirely
understandable constraints, leading to some limitations of
the strict principle, namely, that the prohibitions at the
present time do not go back further than the clans of akhmalk
of the third degree, and, if one clan or another takes wives
from many clans, then the prohibitions are limited to the
second generation, and, if an acquired woman dies childless,
then even in the second generation the limitations fall away.
835 The class of jokh. Finally, one more class prohibited to men,
called jokh, remains. From the kinship nomenclature we
know that a man gives this name to two completely different
classes of women, namely, on the one hand, to the class of
wives of his og:la (descending line), and, on the other hand,
to the class of wives /156/ of his as'kh, i.e., of his younger
brothers (tuvn), and sisters of these wives. As concerns the
first class, we have already noted its prohibited character in
examining the prohibition between persons of the ascending generations and the wives of those of descending ones. The prohibited character of the second category is not so absolute.
From the kinship terminology we know that with respect to the
wife of the elder tuvn various forms of designation are practiced
[184] in various places. In several places on the Amur, on the
coast of the mainland, and on the northwestern coast of
Sakhalin (if "I" am a male) one and the same appellation
(ańg:ej -- wife) is used for wives of the younger as well as of
the older brother, and in such places sexual intercourse is
permitted with all wives of brothers. But this arrangement
is not the dominant one; the dominant arrangement must be
considered that of designating the wife of the elder tuvn as
ańg:ej, i.e., the same name that one gives to one's own wife,

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835 and of designating the wife of the younger tuvn by the prohibitory term jokh; and, correspondingly, sexual relations between a man and the wife of his younger brother are not permitted. Notwithstanding the dominance of this norm at the present time, originally both the terminology and the norms of intercourse were apparently identical with respect to all the wives of brothers without distinction. Evidence of this is not only the fact that in certain places, as we have seen, this arrangement still prevails, but also certain features of the terminology which have been retained even in those places where the new order is dominant. Thus, for example, children everywhere without distinction call the wives of all the brothers of their father ymk, i.e., by the same term that they apply to their own mother, and (in many places) all the brothers of the father ytk (father), from which we must conclude that formerly the sexual rights of men extended to the wives of all brothers without distinction.

The norms of lawful sexual intercourse. From the kinship nomenclature we know that whole groups of men call whole groups of women their wives, and vice versa, i.e., the latter call them their husbands. This strange nomenclature fully corresponds to actuality; in the language of our own European nomenclature, such groups of men and women are joined in marriage.

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581 But before entering into a detailed examination of these relationships, strange from a contemporary point of view, it is necessary, in order to avoid misunderstanding, to analyze precisely the meaning of the term "marriage."

In the institution of marriage there are three main features: 1) sexual intercourse, 2) begetting offspring, and 3) common /157/ domestic activity. It is completely clear that the intrinsically indispensable element in marriage is only the first, namely, sexual intercourse; the other two features, although they, too, play an enormous role in the marital union, may be completely absent. There are marriages which, on account of natural or artificial causes, are

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121 581 childless. Furthermore, there are marriages which do not pursue domestic aims. By itself alone, however, sexual intercourse between certain individuals of different sex, even though it may be regular, still does not constitute a sign of marriage. In order that sexual intercourse be transformed into a marriage, it is necessary that this be sanctioned in one form or another by a given social environment, that it not provoke a social or religious reaction, in a word, that it be lawful.

121 171 581 The lawfulness of sexual intercourse, then, constitutes the essential sign of marriage. On this point, the concept of marriage is similar among the most diverse peoples in the most diverse stages of development. If there are variations, it is only in the forms in which sexual intercourse is realized in marriage. It is just these variations, often so contradictory to the notions of contemporary society, which most of all obscure the idea of marriage when one chances to encounter the forms of sexual intercourse among primitive peoples.

A true understanding of the institution of marriage among primitive peoples is obscured most of all by our habitual notion that marriage invariably presupposes joint cohabitation of the spouses and, consequently, the manifest and regular realization of conjugal rights.

Among many peoples, however, and not only primitive peoples, but even historical ones, this is not required at all. Among the Spartans, for example, the women lived apart from the men, and meetings between husband and wife took place under compulsory secrecy.

This is the case, even as a general rule, among many contemporary primitive peoples, among whom are found the so-called "unions of men." These latter, including also the married ones, spend all their time in a common house where women are not allowed, and the wives and children live in special little houses. On the Fiji Islands, married couples can spend the night together only in secret. We find similar phenomena even among peoples where male unions are unknown.

/157 cont./

581 For example, among the Ainu, when women get married,
121 they often remain in their father's house, and the husband,
171 who lives in another settlement, sometimes at a great distance from the settlement of his father-in-law, /158/ visits his wife only at a certain time of the year. Among the Kirgiz, until the final payment of the bride price, the husband, sometimes for years, visits his wife only at night, and then in secret from her parents. We do not find regularity even among polygamists of the Mussulman type. The Turk may have in his harem women with whom he does not have sexual intercourse for years, but they nevertheless are considered wives, joined with him in marriage. The condition of joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse is still less possible among peoples where, according to the socially established order, a whole group of men considers a whole group of women their wives, and, conversely, a man exercises his right only as far as possible.

Within the Australian Dieri tribe every "*kumi*" (a term corresponding to the Gilyak *pu* -- husband) finds his "*kroki*" (wife) throughout the whole extent of his territory, in whatever settlement he visits. A *kumi* may live out his whole life without seeing one or another of his innumerable *kroki*, but she is nevertheless his wife, for, if he visits her settlement, he can exercise his right without subjecting himself to social censure, punishment of the gods, or a reaction on the part of the individual husband of his *kroki*, as would a non-kumi who did this (1). The potentiality of lawful sexual intercourse takes various forms among different peoples, but the legal essence of the relations remains the same. In one place, persons bound by such a form of marriage are invested not only with rights, but also with obligations, in other words,

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1. Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 1880, pp. 340 f.

/158 cont./

581 121 171 one or another party has no right to refuse sexual relations with a person who is entitled to them. For example, among the Chukchee a woman may not refuse a man joined with her husband in the relationship of a "variable marriage."

Among others, full scope is given to individual sympathies, as, for example, among the aforementioned kumi and kroki, among the Tungus peoples, among the Gilyak, where the agreement of both parties is demanded for sexual intercourse, but once this agreement obtains, intercourse becomes lawful. In essence, what we have here is the same phenomenon as in pure polygamy. A husband may prefer one wife to another, even completely avoid a certain wife, but the marriage is present nevertheless. It is the same also in group marriage: in spite of the separation of the living places of the group spouses and the clear potentiality of conjugal rights, lawfulness of sexual intercourse within the group, and consequently also marriage, is present.

/159/ Of course, joint cohabitation and regular sexual intercourse are the most normal for marriage. We observe the tendency towards this, although in varying degrees, among the most diverse peoples. This tendency, however, must not be confused with the tendency toward individual possession. The instinct for sexual selection and individual sympathies indeed pushes even primitive man toward establishing more or less durable conjugal bonds. But pairing up presupposes neither obligatory individual possession nor, what is more, obligatory joint cohabitation. We have already offered the example of the Ainu, whose wife often remains living in her parents' home, sometimes several days' journey from her husband. Among the Ainu, however, marriage is purely individual. All the more natural is the absence of the aforementioned conditions among those peoples where group forms of marriage exist, for persons to whom the right of sexual relations is extended are many, and for this very reason joint cohabitation and, consequently, the regular exercise of the right of sexual intercourse between all the persons involved in the group marriage rarely take place.

/159 cont./

581 In reality, joint cohabitation and regular intercourse
121 are connected, not with the sexual feature of the marital
171 union, but with the economic aspect. Wherever economic conditions demand the joint collaboration of a whole group of persons and allow living together, group marriage there can turn into a regular, communal marriage. But such conditions are rarely found in primitive society. They are possible -- but even then not often -- in a narrow circle of brothers; in this case group marriage is really accompanied by the elements of joint cohabitation and the regular exercise of marital rights familiar to us. We meet examples of such a clan among the Gilyak, among several Tungus tribes, in Tibet, in India, and in other places. But types of this kind of cohabitation are also rare.

433 In spite of the old opinion, which was accustomed to
121 depicting the life of primitive people in communistic colors,
171 in reality the economy of primitive man, at least the methods of obtaining the means of subsistence, is at the present time mainly individual, and the forms of general collaboration that crop up only at certain times disappear as quickly as they arose with the passing of the necessity for them. We may see a typical specimen of individual economy among the wandering Tungus reindeer-breeders, who /160/ assemble once or twice a year for only a short time and then in small related groups. In normal times they live apart, widely separated from one another, each one selecting for himself his own territory for pasture and hunting.

581 Among peoples who are not herdsmen, who live closer
121 together, the forms of economy are all more or less individ-
[433] ual. Under such circumstances it is quite natural that every man, conducting his own particular economy, should strive to have with him a woman who, in conformity with the natural division of labor between the sexes, might perform with him his economic duties. Thus, joint and regular cohabitation between a man and one or several women arises by itself. In societies where group norms of sexual intercourse exist, such individual alliances change nothing. An

/160 cont./

581 121 individual wife always lives in one house with her husband, works with him, raises children with him, and is obliged to follow him wherever he wishes, but at the same time she has the right to share her caresses with impunity also with a whole group of individuals to whom this is allowed by established rights. Life has sanctioned such individual alliances, the more so as economic interests here coincide with the other mighty motive of sexual selection, the individual inclination of representatives of the different sexes. For this very reason, along with irregular marital relations, individual unions appear, also sanctioned by society. An arrangement appears whereby a separate member of society may at the same time be joined in an individual marriage and in a group marriage. Persons who are joined in an individual marriage are bound not only by regular sexual intercourse and cohabitation, but also by a common economy and common offspring. At the same time, however, to each of them is given the lawful opportunity to have sexual intercourse with persons of their own marital group. And although such sexual intercourse takes place irregularly, often demands conditions of secrecy, and usually presupposes the consent of both parties to each act of intercourse, nevertheless it is just because this is socially recognized, lawful, that it does not provoke any reaction, either social or religious, and because it manifests itself legally -- for marriage is a term of law -- we ought to define such relations as marital relations. This is not only theoretically true; it coincides also with the juridical views of those peoples among whom these institutions exist. /161/ First of all, [601] the very kinship nomenclature itself, according to which individual and group spouses are not distinguished by appellation, is evidence of this. Further, these relations usually impose on the participants in a group marriage the same obligations as are imposed on individual husbands. [587] Thus, for example, when an individual husband dies, one of the members of the group marriage must replace the husband of the widow, even though she may no longer be capable of sexual

581 /161 cont./

587 121 intercourse; he must support her and her children, who usually are also considered the children of all the members of the group.

835 Now the Gilyak marriage classes "pu" and "an'g:ej" become understandable to us, and we shall proceed to a detailed examination of them.

The classes "pu" and "ang:ej." We have already said that for the Gilyak, at least at the present time, it is not prohibited either by religion or by the opinion of society to have sexual relations with or to marry any woman of his own tribe or a neighboring one, except for those women who are bound to him by one or another prohibitive term of kinship. But in relation to such alien women he has no rights whatever; illicit sexual intercourse is accompanied by the risk of bloody reaction on the part of a certain group of males, and individual marriage is a simple civil agreement accompanied by strict conditions of payment for the bride. The Gilyak most naturally therefore seeks sexual intercourse or a legal wife among the women with whom he has the right to do so. These are, namely, those women whom by the kinship [601] nomenclature, either from birth or from another specifically defined moment, he calls an'g:ej (wife), and he calls all [602] their agnates akhmalk'i (fathers-in-law). We already know who these women are. They are, first of all: 1) the daughters of all the "brothers" of the mother; 2) all the "sisters" of the wife; 3) "sisters" of the wives of brothers; 4) "sisters" of the father-in-law of the son; 5) individual wives of all aki, i.e., of brothers who are older than the person speaking (among the majority of Gilyak); 6) individual wives of all "brothers" of the person speaking, without distinctions of age (in certain places).

[601] Each woman, in turn, as we know, gives the name of husband, in addition to her own official husband, to: 1) all the sons of the sisters of her father; 2) all the husbands of her "sisters" and the "brothers" of these husbands; 3) all the younger "brothers" of her husband (if she is married to one of them), and among some -- all the brothers of her husband.

/161 cont./

835 [601] All these categories of "wives" and "husbands" are far from nominal /162/ categories. Behind these class terms (pu and an'g:ej) there are hidden two important real rights: 1) the right to individual marriage; 2) the right to sexual intercourse (group marriage).

Let us examine each of these rights in particular. The right to individual marriage. Above all, the categories pu and an'g:ej are bound by the right to marry, in other words, out of the whole circle of persons bound together by kinship terms, only these alone have the right to join in individual marriage with each other; all the other categories of kinship groups are prohibited from marrying each other. But this right is not exhausted by the merely negative feature -- the absence of a prohibition on matrimonial ties. Certainly in the eyes of the Gilyak the mnemonic significance of these terms is of great importance in itself, for in view of the extreme complexity of kinship relations a firm knowledge of the marriageable classes is the only guarantee against violations of the very strict taboos on marriage in the prohibited degrees of kinship. Nevertheless the mnemonic-permissive significance of these terms does not at all exhaust their legal content. Prohibitions against marriage, as we have seen, are absent also among persons who are complete strangers to each other in the kinship relation, and nevertheless, for persons of these categories to call each other pu and ang:ej before marriage is not tolerated. The right to individual marriage between persons in the pu and an'g:ej categories is not a naked nudum jus; this right, which is simultaneously an obligation, is a debt for both parties concerned. This obligation is seen first of all in the category of "brothers" and their individual wives, who are, as we know, joined mutually in the relationship of pu and an'g:ej. By the general rule the

587 [614] widows of "brothers" (own and collateral) cannot leave the clan, and they become, according to the disposition of the clansmen, the wives of the brothers who have survived their husbands, completely independently of the wishes of these brothers; none of them can decline the widow assigned to him.

/162 cont./

587 In those clans where the "older brothers" are excluded
835 from the class "pu" with respect to the wives of "younger
[614] brothers," the widows are ordinarily assigned to one of the
"younger brothers" of the deceased, but here also, in the
absence of "younger brothers," one of the "older brothers" is
obliged to accept the widow, without the right, however,
to sexual intercourse with her.

But the typical aspect of the marriage-rights relations
between the pu and an'g:ej is not concealed in this extremely
common institution of the levirate, about which /163/ we
must speak in detail. The levirate marriage is a more or
less exceptional phenomenon and embraces only one insignifi-
835 cant class of this category. The most characteristic aspect
of the rights-obligations of marriage between pu and an'g:ej
lies in the other classes of this category, which are well-
known to us from the kinship terminology, in other words, in
the conditions of the normal marriage. This right-obligation
character of marriage between pu and an'g:ej has, it is true,
been considerably shaken under the influence of causes about
which we shall speak further on -- the Gilyak do take wives
outside of the aforementioned categories, but these marriage
unions do not represent the favored, characteristic form of
even the contemporary marriage. On the contrary, both the
contemporary customs and the ancient epos equally indicate
that precisely between these classes of pu and an'g:ej marriage
was obligatory and the most satisfactory of all from the
835 specific point of view of the Gilyak. In order to show how
538 imperative this consciousness of the obligation of marriage
between persons of the classes pu and an'g:ej is, it will be
sufficient to introduce one example from a story I recorded.
In this story, they tell about a battle between a young Gilyak
and a mysterious werewolf-shaman. The fight ends with the
werewolf's receiving a mortal wound and returning to his
yurt. On his deathbed he remembers that he is a distant
akhmalk of his slayer, that is, a member of that clan from
which the clan of the killer has the right to take wives, and
of the very category of persons of that clan whose daughters

/163 cont./

835 are the an'g:ej of the slayer. Then he immediately orders the
538 killer to be summoned to his house, that is, the man against whom blood vengeance is obligatory, although the killing was unpremeditated, the man whom it was the greatest sin to allow into his house; and in the presence of the assembled members of the clan he solemnly declares: "Although this man has killed me, give him my daughter. Do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason." Such is the force of the ancient categorical imperative of marriages between the categories of pu and an'g:ej. This imperative is also active nowadays.

601 Let us return for a moment to the kinship terminology.
582 We shall make a full analysis of this terminology in connec-
614 tion with the bases of marriage later on. For our purposes now it is necessary to remember the following facts: 1) the wives of clansmen, according to their generations, call each other either older or younger "sisters" or "aunts" and "nieces"; 2) all the agnate kin of the wife are considered, according to generation, the "fathers-in-law" of all the clansmen of this /164/ man; 3) the man calls the sister of his "father-in-law" his "mother," and he calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife (an'g:ej). Judging from this, 1) the wives of all the members of each given clan must be taken from one clan, and, consequently, in each generation they are sisters (own and collateral); 2) the clan of these women, for each individual man, is the clan of his mother, and the wife of each individual man, must be the daughter of his mother's brother. This we see in actuality, notwithstanding all the deviations of modern times, the causes of which will be made clear later.
614 The ideal of the clansmen is to have women from *one* clan,
582 from one clan of common akhmalk'i; if this turns out to be impossible and it is necessary to turn to still another clan, then once again it is preferably to that clan which is already the akhmalk of the given clan, that is, that clan from which the individual clansmen, fathers and grandfathers, at an earlier date took their wives for some reason or other. Under these conditions, for each individual person the most favored

/164 cont./

582 614 marriage is that with the daughter of the mother's brother. "Pfandfukh an'g:ej gen urdra" -- "from the clan of your 'pandf' (see above), from the clan from which you originated (were born), i.e., from the clan from which your mother came, you [533] should take a wife," runs the Gilyak maxim. "I miss the house of my mother's brother" -- such is the motif of the contemporary Gilyak song. And statistics prove the degree to which these principles play a role in reality. From the very first days of my statistical census, when I was not yet conversant with all the subtleties of the kinship nomenclature, I was astounded that in each clan there were so many kinsmen's wives who were taken from one and the same clan, who called each other, according to the generation of the husband, sisters and aunts, and who actually seemed to be such. It was necessary to record many Gilyak who were married several times, and most often their wives turned out to be from one and the same clan, specifically, from the clan of the husband's mother. One of my companions on my journeys, Isayka, had been married three times, and always to wives from the very same clan. And in the majority of cases, it turned out that the husbands and wives were not only cognate cousins, but were corresponding children of own sisters and brothers.

582 171 The preference shown for this form of marriage even today is always the result of the religious imperative; we have seen above that only such a marriage is considered "pure." As to the role of this form of marriage among the Gilyak, one may express it in the same words that have been used to describe the same phenomenon among the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India. In these tribes, "marriage between cousins is almost /165/ compulsory when a brother has a daughter and his sister a son" (1).

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1. Fison and Howitt, Kamilaroi and Kurnai, p. 154.

/165 cont./

582 Among the Gilyak, this type of marriage is imperative
584 to such a great extent that such marriages are often performed
soon after the birth of the future spouses, in order to avoid any
possible chance circumstances that could interfere with this
important matter. The first concern of a mother soon after
the birth of a son is to do everything possible in order to
585 marry him to the daughter of one of her brothers. In the
ritual of the wedding, the child-groom or his father ties up
the little hand of the bride with a thread twisted from the
hairs of dog fur and a nettle, the magical symbols of a com-
mon economy -- dog-breeding -- and fishing; they fashion
[601] nets from the nettle. From this moment the marriage is
concluded, and when the bride has grown up a little more,
approximately to the age of four or five years, she usually
moves to the house of her groom, where she grows up with
him, and they call each other, however strange it may seem
to us, by the pet names "my wife" and "my husband"
(*n'ang:ej*, *n'fu*) up to the attainment of sexual maturity, at
which time they become actual spouses, without any of the
ritual or formalities which usually must be observed in con-
cluding marriage with outsiders. This custom probably ex-
plains why the grown-up spouses are most often called "*yr:kh*"
and "*mam*," i. e., old man and old woman, since at the age
when most of us are only preparing to get married the young
Gilyak spouses may already be celebrating their silver anni-
versary. This custom sometimes leads to abnormal marriage
[582] unions. Now and then one finds in one yurt a pair who call
themselves husband and wife, where the husband is a youth
of about sixteen, while his wife is only four or five years old.
The explanation for this is either that the older sister of the
latter has died or that her mother is considerably younger than
her own brother. One way or another, such cases still further
emphasize the imperative nature of the aforementioned mar-
[556] riages. It is characteristic that this case is particularly
zealously carried out in the richest families, which usually
are distinguished by their especially strict observance of all
the ancient customs and rites.

/165 cont./

582 Concerning the primary obligation of marriages between
583 pu and an'g:ej, supporting evidence is offered by another extremely important peculiarity of this form of marriage, namely, the fact that the bride price, i.e., the payment which is received by the father or the brother of the bride and which in the contemporary marriage plays an enormous role in the question of giving a woman in marriage, is here completely lacking or at least plays an insignificant /166/ role. In cases of marriages between cousins of the first degree, not only is a bride price not demanded, but it is even forbidden to mention it during the betrothal.

582 The absence of the bride price in marriages between pu
583 and an'g:ej is clear evidence that the marriage between these
174 categories was at one time an obligatory marriage, and in the case of obligatoriness it goes without saying that there can be no question of any financial obligations.

There is no doubt that the bride price was a later institu-
[538] tion. In the traditional poems of the Gilyak, the so-called n'astund, in which the procedure of betrothal is so often described, there is never any mention of the bride price. On the contrary, the "fathers-in-law" usually fill the boat of the bride with all kinds of valuables.

583 Remembering what an enormous role the bride price plays
174 in the economic life of the Gilyak, sometimes representing the only resource for giving the economy of a poor man a start, it must be realized that the neglect of the bride price in marriages of the above-mentioned category cannot be caused by reasons of a sentimental nature; the motives for such an attitude toward the bride price must be of a more compulsory character, that is, religious. We shall have to speak about the nature of these motives in more detail later on.

602 As an illustration, we merely point out the surprising
606 relations that, thanks to this religious imperative of marriages between pu and an'g:ej, were characteristically established between persons of the class of "fathers-in-law" and their legal "sons-in-law" /zyat'ya/. These relations are surprising

/166 cont./
602 by their touching tenderness, their devotion and selflessness.
606 Toward an ymg:i, though only potential, the "fathers-in-law"
sometimes behave better than toward their own children.
"One must feed a son-in-law," runs the religious formula of
relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law." In
this dry formulation is hidden a rich content. Not only in
times of poverty does a "son-in-law," sometimes with his
huge family, move in to live with his father-in-law, getting
a living from him without any payment for a period of months
and even several years, but even in normal times the "son-in-law"
(although such merely by designation) is the favorite
guest in the house of his father-in-law.

For months at a time the Gilyak youth loudly and happily
[574] pass their time in the settlements of their "fathers-in-law,"
[224] finding in every yurt the most hearty welcome and the greatest
[431] delicacies; and when the hunting begins, the "son-in-law" is
invariably a participant in the undertakings of his "father-in-law,"
and when he returns to his own home, he carries with
him, in addition to /167/ the usual gifts, also his share of the
[796] catch. At solemn moments of life, for example, at the bear
festival, the "sons-in-law" are in the foreground among those
who have been invited, and it is to them that the honor of
[72] killing the bear is presented. In an arduous moment in wartime,
the "fathers-in-law" and the "sons-in-law" are obliged
to come to each other's aid in case of necessity.

In order to evaluate fully the religious background of these
peculiar relations between "fathers-in-law" and "sons-in-law,"
it is necessary to keep in mind the wide meaning that the
Gilyak, with a purely primitive passion for the broadening of
their original taboos, have given to the term "father-in-law."

602 From the kinship terminology we know that the clan of
614 the "fathers-in-law" is considered to be not only that clan
606 from which a man's kinsmen usually take wives, but also all
the other clans from which even one kinsman has chanced
to take his wife. Thus, each man can have several clans

606 /167 cont./ Thus, each man can have several clans
602 of "fathers-in-law," and all the agnates of these clans, ac-
614 cording to generations, are considered an'g:ej -- his wives and
[601] the wives of his kinsmen. So it is in the kinship terminology,
and so it is in life.

It will be necessary for us to consider in detail later how this complicated system developed.

For the present, we think, quite enough has been said to see that in the sphere of individual marriage the appellations pu and an'g:ej have played and still play an enormous role, symbolizing in themselves the remarkable institution of the right to marriage -- one of the many benefits which the clan structure gives to each of its participants.

584 Now we shall indicate only the practical significance of
162 this institution of the right to marriage at the present time.
595 For the contemporary Gilyak, marriage is one of the most
difficult matters of life. Not only in the fairy tales, but also in real life "finding a wife" is a business of unusual difficulty. First of all, there is the extreme shortage of women. Among the Gilyak, according to calculations made on the basis of the censuses that I took, for every 1,000 males there are 785 females; on the isolated shores of the Sea of Okhotsk, it is 694 females, while in Siberia, for every 1,000 males there are 900 females. It is necessary to add that a significant percentage of the Gilyak, namely, the wealthiest individuals, keep from two to four wives. For example, according to my census on the western shore of Sakhalin to the north of the settlement of Arkyvo, for every nine monogamous men there was one polygamous man, with the total ratio of men to women being 1000:694. There is one old bachelor for every 11 married men, and one polygamist for every 19 married men. It is not difficult to imagine how limited the choice of women was, /168/ and it was already limited by a whole set
[583] of prohibitions. With such a limited choice and with such a
considerable preponderance of men over women, the bride price, the payment for women (in valuables or long-term service), naturally reaches an unusually great amount. Under

/168 cont./

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582 such circumstances,[1] it would be necessary for a considerably
large number of the population who are not well-to-do to remain
[182] unmarried. And it is right here that the institution of
the right to marriage with persons of the class of an'g:ej about
which we spoke above appears as a corrective. In the first
rank of those available to the Gilyak are the daughters of his
mother's brother, next their collateral sisters, and, finally,
any daughter in general of that broad class of persons whom
the Gilyak calls akhmalk (fathers-in-law).

We already know the nature of the relations of these
latter with their sons-in-law /zyat'ya/, and it is clear, therefore,
that obtaining an individual wife among the an'g:ej,
among the daughters of one's born akhmalk, is surrounded by
the most favorable conditions. In an extreme case, a man
stands a sure chance of getting the widows of his brothers.
[178] But in view of the generally small number of women in
comparison with the men, and considering the fierce competition
within each class of pu for their an'g:ej and under the
conditions of an extreme avidity for the bride price, which has
developed under the influence of commercial relations and
has greatly weakened the traditional matrimonial relations,
even this privilege can often be a nudum jus. But at this
point there appears on the scene another powerful corrective
for the individual marriage -- the group marriage, an absolutely
unlimited right to sexual intercourse between classes
of pu and an'g:ej. We turn next to this right.

*835 Group marriage. Though the right and obligation of individual
marriage in the classes pu and an'g:ej have been considerably
shaken by the inevitable influence of both historical
conditions and the conditions of life, the right to group marriage,
the right to sexual intercourse between persons of
these classes, continues to be preserved in full strength. This
right, it is true, does not carry with it a definitely compulsory
character: a woman cannot be coerced into sexual intercourse
83 either by her kin or by her pu. It is not even allowed that the
father, brother, or husband of a woman propose to the daughter

[1] [i.e., a limited choice of women plus unequal sex ratio in favor of the men.--Analyst]

/168 cont./

83 or wife that she share her bed with a guest who is her pu, as happens among peoples who practice hospitable hetaerism. Likewise a public display of sexual intimacy is not allowed. No one permits himself to lie down under one covering with his group ańg:ej in the common yurt, even with a preliminary agreement. Moreover, even between individual spouses /169/ 833 openness of sexual relations is not allowed (1). Intercourse may not take place publicly or before the eyes of the individual spouse concerned (2). If the act takes place at night in the yurt where there are also strangers sleeping, then each one lies down separately, and only when all have gone to sleep does the man or woman (both sides alike take the initiative, but women more rarely) move over to the bed of his group spouse, who may accept or reject the attentions if there has not been any preliminary agreement. In summer the affair most frequently takes place in the open air; in the

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[191] 1. The avoidance of public caresses between individual spouses is not an exclusive peculiarity of the Gilyak. According to the testimony of Radlov /Radloff/, the Altaian in public does not allow himself even a joke with his wife in the presence of strangers, while at the same time the broadest freedom in relations between the sexes prevails among these peoples. -- Radloff, Aus Sibirien /From Siberia/, I, 314.

[191] 2. Compare the similar phenomenon among the Tibetans. -- Westermarck, The Origin of Marriage, p. 141.

/169 cont./
833 daytime the favorite place for "catching" one's an'g:ej is locations
* 835 where berries are gathered; in the evening -- anywhere
outside of the settlement, near the well. In the winter, in
the yurt: in the daytime, in the absence of strangers; at
*835 night, after all have gone to sleep. Finally, there are periods
221 when the group spouses are free from any restrictions. The
married men go for several weeks into the taiga to their
hunting territories, while in the summer and winter they continually
travel about on visits or to festivals. At these times
*835 there is complete freedom for the group spouses. Only one
[521] thing is most strictly demanded: neither the participants themselves
nor any strangers who have chanced to be witnesses to the
relations of group spouses have the right, under the penalty
of sinning, to tell anyone, no matter who, and especially
the persons concerned, about such relations publicly. But
these demands of non-publicity, established in the interests
of peace between group spouses, with the aim of preventing
possible fits of jealousy, have in no way diminished the
publicity of the institution of group marriage itself, the
publicity of the conjugal rights themselves. These rights
[671] have been nationally formulated in legal theses which have
[867] come to be common property (the formulas themselves are
given below in the chapter on the relations of brothers to their
wives) -- theses which each father and each mother consider
their obligation to impart to their children with religious
solicitude from very earliest childhood. Publicly, the group
spouses not only behave with unconstrained familiarity, but
address each other with none other than the tender words "my
[764] dear little husband," "my dear little wife." But the publicity
of group relations /170/ is manifested best of all in the case of
the death of a man who is not joined in an individual marriage.
In such cases, before the burning of the body, one of the
group wives (usually the wife of an older brother) steps out
on the funeral platform and in the hearing of all mourns for
* 835 him as for her beloved, as for her husband. It is curious to
832 note that during the negotiations between the pu and the
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*835 /170 cont./
832 an'g:ej with regard to an anticipated seance, they go through
584 the same symbolic actions that people go through during the
585 betrothal and wedding ceremonies, namely, they smoke or eat
[195] together. To say to a woman of the an'g:ej category, "Let us have a smoke together," is equivalent to an offer to her to exercise her marital right.

832 The legal essence of this specific right, as we have said,
*835 is in the fact that its realization, even when it becomes known
684 to all, does not provoke a reaction either of the persons concerned or of social censure, and likewise it does not constitute a violation of religious morals, a privilege of an extremely important character, for sexual intercourse with women outside of this category incurs grave consequences. If this be a completely alien woman -- although at the present time this does not constitute a religious transgression -- then it provokes, as we have already mentioned, bloody punishment if the fornicators are caught in flagrante delicto, or at best a cruel duel with sticks and a fine. There are many reasons for believing that intercourse with female strangers was even once under a religious prohibition. The following curious custom, by the way, testifies in favor of this notion. If a woman who is not bound to a man by class relationship tries to seduce him, catches him by the leg in some isolated place (a symbolic offering of herself to the man), then he (if, it goes without saying, he does not succumb to the temptation) is obliged, under penalty of punishment of the gods, to demand publicly an expiatory ransom from the woman (1).

[114]
[627] 1. I personally happened to be a witness to such a ceremony of ransom. It was in the settlement of Tamlevo. One of my traveling companions, a Gilyak already middle-aged, once woke me early in the morning and with anxiety asked me to go with him to "court" in the neighboring yurt. There I found a large assembly of the masters of the settlement. My companion laid before them his

/170 cont./

832 *835 684 627 114

> complaint against a local woman, who the evening before had seized him by the leg, on the grounds of which he was demanding "ransom." They summoned the culprit. She confessed and by the decision of the assembly she was obliged to hand over publicly to her accuser an adjudged ransom, namely, a puppy and a birch-bark dish. Why the fine was limited to such insignificant objects (if they were not merely symbols of especially female labor) I explain only by the fact that the guilty woman was entirely alone and did not possess anything more valuable.

834 *835 [174] [157] /171/ One must keep in mind the fact that the Gilyak
are very passionate and by no means like to let felicitous
opportunities for lovemaking, even with alien women, slip
by, so it is necessary to regard the aforementioned custom
as a survival from that epoch when intercourse with alien women
was under a religious prohibition. Still more strictly regarded
is an affair between persons of prohibited categories; this
meets with the censure of society, the reproaches of kinsmen,
punishment of the gods, the gnawing of conscience, and in-
evitable banishment. There can hardly be even any question
of a casual passion, and a more serious feeling is regarded as
the result of one's being inhabited by an evil spirit, and the
persons prefer to kill themselves. Restraint toward persons
of forbidden categories has become converted into that same
instinct which is felt among us with regard to one's mother or
*835 own sister. All the more powerfully is the right to sexual
intercourse between the categories of pu and an'g:ej realized.
In this respect, one can express oneself about the Gilyak in the

/171 cont./

*835 same words with which authors describe the relations between "kumi" and "kroki" in Australia: throughout the whole extent of his territory, wherever the Gilyak finds his an'g:ej, there he also finds a conjugal bed. For this, it is only necessary that the Gilyak remember the kinship terms. I had many chances to convince myself of this during the time of my travels on Sakhalin. Again and again I appeared with my Gilyak companions in settlements where neither they nor their fathers had ever been before. Nevertheless, after the exchange of a few sentences the bonds of kinship were revealed, and from their first encounter pu and an'g:ej who were formerly unknown to each other engaged in mimic negotiations about a fleeting conjugality.

*835 836 848 Among the categories of women with whom the Gilyak has a legitimate opportunity for sexual intercourse, it is necessary to distinguish the unmarried from the married. Maidens, even among the Gilyak, are more restricted in their sexual relations than the married women. The prospect of pregnancy [614] [851] and bearing children does not appeal to the Gilyak maiden; the birth of a child by an unknown father, according to the clan views of the Gilyak, is a dangerous business solely from the fact that the sexual, marital, and clan rights, and even more the religious rights, determined by the father are completely uncertain, and this can lead to violations of taboos, which the Gilyak fears most of all. Therefore, a pregnant maiden is subjected to severe reproaches on the part of her father, who demands either that she name the seducer, or the destruction of the fetus, or the killing of the newborn infant. However hard the moral position of individual women is in such cases, in practice the business /172/ is much simpler. In the first place, many women, as we have seen, are married from childhood on, and the others never sit for very long; there are so few women that every girl is already married by the *835 836 time seductions become dangerous for them. Finally, those who are not married and freely indulge in sexual intercourse with men extremely rarely have an affair with just their

/172 cont./
*835 sweetheart, and, thanks to this polyandrous practice, they
836 hardly ever run the risk of pregnancy. As to what proportions these polyandrous habits of intercourse among maidens reach, it will be sufficient to offer an example intimately known to me. The wife of my friend Pigunayka from the settlement of Arkyvo, a likable woman and a splendid housekeeper and mother of children, before her marriage had in her home village alone 14 sweethearts at one time, who called each other, and she likewise called them, navkh, akhmalk -- comrade, fellow participator (it is curious that navkh literally means the very same thing as punalua in Morgan's well-known punalua family). Furthermore, Pigunayka's wife's sexual intercourse with her sweethearts quite often took place at one time. Her "husbands" told me quite good-naturedly how all 15 of them used to get together in a little clearing not far from the settlement, and one after the other they would exercise their rights. The most curious thing of all is that in this merry band was Pigunayka himself, who is now the happy husband of the
602 heroine. Under such circumstances, it is natural that the Gilyak
*835 youth in many respects feels much more at home and at ease
836 among his maiden ańg:ej than he does among his married ańg:ej, access to whom is surrounded with great difficulties in view of the preferential rights to them of their individual husbands. And, naturally, he is attracted thither most of all. But he does not find these maidens in his own clan, even among the most distant of his tuvn. With them he not only does not have a right to have sexual intercourse, but he does not even dare to converse with them. In his own clan he has only the married women for sexual intercourse. In fact, maiden ańg:ej very rarely live in the same settlement as their pu.
(614) The daughters of his mother's brother, the sisters of his brothers' wives, the daughters of his akhmalk, in other words, the clan of his "fathers-in-law" -- there is where all his sympathies
602 draw the Gilyak youth. In the yurts of his akhmalk'i nothing is hidden to him; here he is met with open arms, for, as we

/172 cont./

602 know, an ymg:i is the closest person to an akhmalk and to his wife. An ymg:i is a preferred hunting companion summer and winter. He is the dearest guest; they serve the most delicate dishes to him. He makes them still happier for a special reason. With their clansmen-brothers the akhmalk'i /173/ and their sons can neither converse nor joke, but the ymg:i is a legitimate interlocutor, with whom they may make merry to their hearts' content. And in such surroundings there [836] are dozens of maidens -- his an'g:ej, with whom he may openly converse, joke, and, when the opportunity presents itself, have sexual intercourse.

*835 602 Now we shall turn to the relations of the pu with their married an'g:ej.

[184] From the kinship terminology we know that a man's married an'g:ej include, first of all, the individual wives of his "brothers" (tuvn), which, among the Gilyak speaking the western dialect, refers to all tuvn, while among the Gilyak speaking the eastern dialect -- only to the elder; further -- all the married "sisters" of his own wife; finally, the married sisters of the wives of his tuvn -- a huge category, including many dozens of persons distributed throughout the *835 territory of Gilyak settlement. Concerning the last two groups -- the wife's sisters and the sisters of the brothers' wives -- one must make the following reservation: usually, in agreement with the general norms of Gilyak marriage, the sisters marry persons of the class tuvn alone, so that with regard to the sisters of the wife and the sisters of the brothers' wives a general rule concerning the wives of "brothers" operates. But, due to deviations from the traditional norms, it may turn out that the sister of one's brother's wife or the sister of one's own wife is married to a completely alien man, or even to someone who is an accidental akhmalk (1).

[582] [614] 1. An accidental akhmalk is what I call a man from a clan from which one of the kinsmen of the speaker has

/*173 cont.*/

*835 by chance taken a wife secretly.
614 rather than from the clan from
582 which all the kinsmen usually
take a wife.

601 In these cases the norms of sexual relations, and the
*835 terminology as well, are not the same. Among the majority
184 of clans, in both cases sexual intercourse with these women
614 is legitimate, the participants call each other *pu* and *an'g:ej*,
and their children call each other *tuvn* and the sisters of their mother and their husbands correspondingly "mothers" and "fathers." But among other clans, mainly among clans who are neighbors of the Ainu, the arrangement is different. If the sister of a man's wife marries his *akhmalk*, then sexual intercourse with her, as in general with the wife of an *akhmálk*, is absolutely prohibited, and, instead of *an'g:ej*, the man calls her *achk* (mother-in-law). But if she marries a completely alien man, then the relations between them are as between aliens, i.e., sexual intercourse is not considered a
*835 sin, but neither is it legitimate. What is remarkable, however, is that the offspring of both families are in all cases, even in such /*174*/ relations, considered to be *tuvn* (brothers) (1)

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601 1. I shall give an example which depicts very well both the relations of such *tuvn* (i.e., the children of sisters whose husbands are aliens to each other) among themselves and their mutual relations towards their wives.

Wremgin and Hibl are individuals of two different clans (*k:khal*), one from the clan Fan'gi, the other from the clan Khoi, but their mothers were *tuvn*, i.e., sisters from one and the same clan. And

/174 cont./

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> nevertheless, notwithstanding the fact that their fathers and they themselves are persons of alien clans, they call each other tuvn, because their fathers were married to sisters and had the right to sexual intercourse, and, as tuvn, they do not dare to converse or joke with each other (see below, the prohibitions); their wives are considered ymk (mothers) to their children, and Hibl, as the younger, has the right to sexual intercourse with the wife of Wremgin.

*835 down to the third generation, and this shows best of all that the old order dictated that the sisters of a Gilyak's wife be the wives of his brothers.

Thus, the question of the relations between a Gilyak and his married an'g:ej in practice comes, in the main, to the same thing as relations with the wives of his "brothers" (tuvn).

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As we have said, and as is evident from the kinship terminology, some clans strictly differentiate between the wives of older and of younger tuvn, and others make no distinction at all between these categories; in some -- only the wives of the older tuvn, in others -- all the wives of tuvn without distinction, are considered an'g:ej of each of the tuvn, but in both cases the right of these pu and an'g:ej to sexual intercourse is indisputable.

Among the western Gilyak, who make no distinction between the wives of brothers, they formulated this right for me repeatedly in the following, more than clear expressions: "with the wife of a younger brother (his) older brother is allowed to have sexual intercourse" ("good"); a younger (brother) is allowed to have sexual intercourse with the wife of an older (brother) ("good").

/174 cont./

*835 In clans where a distinction is made between the wives of
614 younger and of older "brothers," this right was formulated for
me still more boldly: "among clansmen, in one and the same
clan everything is permitted ('good'), the wife of an older
(brother) is my wife all the same." This undoubted and
primordial right of a man to the "wives" of his tuvn is in-
variably exercised throughout all the Gilyak territory up to the
present time, with the sole limitation that we mentioned
above, i.e., sexual intercourse should not take place before
the eyes of the individual husband of the woman and, as far
*835 as possible, not publicly. The right of the individual spouse,
593 of course, is peremptory -- he can demand from his wife ful-
fillment of her marital and economic obligations and that she
[597] follow him through /175/ any change of dwelling. He has a
formally exclusive right to the children that she bears, but
quite often a Gilyak, if he has several children, considers
it his duty to give away one of his infants to a childless tuvn
of his, if the latter lives in another settlement. But also the
subsidiary right of a wife and her group husbands in the person
of his "brothers" to sexual intercourse is just as indisputable.
It is true, the group spouses must look for a suitable opportunity
in order, in the absence of the individual spouse (during his
sleep or outside the home), to enjoy their rights, but there
are more than enough such opportunities. A man passes the
[484] greater part of his time away from home: either he is at the
river catching fish, or he is away hunting for whole weeks at
[512] a time, or he is traveling, visiting. On the other hand, the
[222] women also absent themselves for whole days, going into the
*835 taiga for berries, roots, etc. Finally, intercourse is possible
at night in the presence of the sleeping husband. In a word,
the exercise of the right of group marriage does not present
any particular difficulties. The bachelor tuvn most of all
[837] fully enjoy this right. Married men resort to it in their own
settlement usually only in case of some sort of particular
passion for this or that group anǵ:ei, but outside of their
settlement, when they happen to be away from their individual

/175 cont./

*835 837 wives for a time, the married men enjoy their group rights just as broadly as do the bachelors. And it must be said in general that the character of the relations between pu and an'g:ej is largely determined by the conditions of cohabitation. *835 832 Under the conditions of living in different villages, the relations between them can naturally be only sporadic. Very often in such cases the group spouses know each other only by hearsay, but, upon meeting each other, they usually come quickly to an agreement and form fleeting attachments, for which they are quite eager, both the men and the women, not laying claim upon each other to any particular sympathy, love, or such. There is nothing easier than to come to an agreement with such a pu or an'g:ej whom one meets by chance; one need merely touch the breast of a woman in the passageway or out of doors, or make the stereotyped proposal, "Let's smoke a little together," in order to convince oneself of the strength of one's chances for lovemaking. Sometimes the matter is simply settled by means of winks alone.

*835 [593] In a place where the individual bachelor pu and their wives, an'g:ej, are in permanent residence, firm attachments are often established, accompanied not only by regular sexual relations, but often also by deep sympathies and /176/ affection, which nevertheless do not hinder the woman from properly fulfilling her conjugal obligations with regard to her individual husband at the same time, even feeling a real affection toward him. Such relations quite often create extremely interesting situations. Two, or more rarely three, brothers, notwithstanding their complete economic independence, giving each of them the opportunity to acquire his own individual wife, nevertheless live together, having one common wife. The official [595] spouse of this woman is considered to be only the oldest brother, who has actually acquired her with the rights of an individual spouse, but, with the tacit consent of the wife, she is in reality a common wife; this is well-known, not only to outsiders, but [184] [556] also to the children of the brothers-spouses. One encounters such situations also in the richest and most respected families.

/176 cont./
000 such situations also in the richest and most respected families.
159 My good friend and first teacher of the Gilyak language, the
*835 aforementioned resident of the settlement Tangi, the richest
Gilyak on Sakhalin, lived in just this way with his younger
brother, Pleun. The latter was himself a no less capable
person than his older brother, enjoyed the name of an excellent
hunter, and had been able to accumulate a huge quantity of
"valuables," so that he could easily have taken for himself
not one but several wives; nevertheless, he preferred to enjoy
the wife of his older brother. It had evidently come about in
this way: as a youth, he had enjoyed the wife of Gibel'ka
with the rights of any younger brother, but gradually a stronger
attraction had arisen between them, and he preferred, instead
of an individual marriage, to live constantly with the wife of
his older brother, whom in fact, he loved. It is characteristic
here that everyone, including Gibel'ka himself, regarded this
as an entirely normal phenomenon. When I approached
Gibel'ka himself with a question about this, a slight shadow
slipped across his handsome, intelligent face; he well knew
how the Russians regarded such relations, but in general my
question did not produce any particular impression on him.

[593) He spoke enthusiastically about his own wife, loved his
children tenderly, although he could not have any confidence
whatsoever that they were his, and his son, a boy of 14, felt
a greater affection for the younger brother of his father than for
him himself. It goes without saying that nothing prevented
[595] Gibel' from removing his younger brother from his house, or
[583] him together with his wife, and buying himself another, and
not one but several, of the most beautiful and distinguished
wives. With his extreme ambition, with his excessive love
of popularity, he would not have failed to undertake the
most drastic steps for the /177/ restoration of his marital
reputation, if he had felt anything shocking in the regular
and well-known cohabiting of this brother with his wife.
As luck would have it, Gibel' outlived his younger brother,
who perished tragically in solitude in his hunting balagan
[264] during the time of the winter hunting. When the dead man's

/177 cont./

159 body was laid on the funeral platform amidst a huge and
764 solemn crowd of Gilyak who had assembled from all directions,
*835 a few minutes before the cremation the wife of the older
brother, with her hair undone as a sign of mourning, climbed up on it, seated herself beside the deceased, and in everyone's hearing began to mourn for her "younger husband" and "beloved" in the same pathetic and tender terms as if she had been his individual wife.

*835 This public act is better evidence than any description as to how the Gilyak understand relations between men and the wives of their brothers.

The custom of the common, continual cohabitation of brothers with a common wife is not always easy to notice. In the first place, sexual relations are carefully guarded from publicity; furthermore, the Gilyak usually live in large yurts, with several brothers with families together, and for a stranger it is very difficult to figure out their secret relations, the more so because they are very unwilling to speak about such things; finally, any young Gilyak rarely has the desire to attach himself to the wife of an own brother; he prefers irregular relations with the wives of many of his tuvn.

595 Besides the group-marriage relations between brothers and
*835 their wives, however, other purely communal forms are also
encountered among the Gilyak -- true, not often -- namely, when two or several brothers are quite openly and admittedly married to one woman. I encountered such cases in 1910 even on the Amur, where the Gilyak distinguish themselves by a particular individualism. Two or three brothers formally seek in marriage a common wife from the akhmalk clan or buy an alien woman and then continue to live with her in a communal marriage. Of course, at the same time both the husbands and their wives are joined in group-marriage relations with a large number of their class pu and an'g:ej.

[538) In olden times such cases were evidently common phenomena. The so-called n'astund (heroic tales) and fairy

595 /177 cont./
*835 tales again and again begin with the words: "n'ig:yvyn tenun'
538 ruvn an'g:ej n'ena aivynd" -- "two Gilyak brothers had a wife," and later on the content itself of this idea is disclosed. In one /178/ such tale (1), in which they are talking about the abduction of the common wife of two brothers by a mountain man, we find a passage depicting the forms of sexual relations and the relationship of the woman to both brothers: "That same evening she made the...sacrificial cups, six of them, in order that her husbands might take them with them (on the hunt); then that night, having slept a little (i.e., under one cover with the elder brother), she made her way to her younger husband (beloved), lying on the middle plank-bed, and, having copulated, she slept with him. On the next day, her husbands set out." The finale of this story is curious. After a long search for the abducted woman, the older brother (nowadays her individual husband), having despaired of the success of the search, returned home, while the younger brother, on the other hand, zealously continued the search, and when he finally found his way to the home of his beloved, the narrator says that the woman ran to her husband "pivner:kntokh" (actually, to the brother of her individual husband) (line 58) ... They not only speak in such language
595 in fairy tales, but every day. When a man speaks of his wife
*835 or a woman of her husband, they by no means imply their in-
601 dividual spouse, but one or another of their "husbands" without distinction. In just the same way, when a married man speaks of his wives (in the plural), or a married woman of her husbands, they always imply the individual husband and his brothers, and, conversely, the individual wife and the wives of the brothers.

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1. L. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, II, 21, p. 171.

/178 cont./

*835 The right to sexual intercourse with the wives of brothers
828 has grown to be such an ordinary idea among the Gilyak that
829 they are not able to imagine an order of things whereby a
woman could be the private property of one man. The Gilyak
youths were extremely perplexed by my asking them so often
and so persistently about these relations; they considered
them so commonplace that they should not, according to their
way of thinking, have caused any doubts at all, and they asked
me in surprise: "Is it possible that it is different among you?
Is it bad for you to sleep with your brother's wife?" i.e., not
permitted, finding that their law is better than ours. It goes
152 without saying that human nature remains true to itself. The
*835 Gilyak, too, is jealous, and in other cases where the matter
578 does not concern his tuvn he can react with the unbridled passion
684 of primitive man. It means nothing to a Gilyak to kill a rival
or have a bloody duel with him. But when the affair concerns
/179/ his brothers, then, thanks to the notions that have been
a part of him since childhood and to a whole set of prohibitions
that we shall discuss below, the brutal instinct loses its power
over the Gilyak; he either does not react at all to the flirta-
[182] tions of his wife, or quite weakly. To avoid friction between
brothers, however, some preventive measures are practical.
[602] Thus, for example, custom dictates that the older brothers
[584] not only yield primogeniture in marriage to the younger
brothers, but even that they help them with "valuables" for
the purchase of wives.

*835 At first glance such a custom seems all the more strange
182 in that the older persons often do not have sexual rights to the
578 wives of the younger. But, on the other hand, another ad-
vantage is gained: having married off their younger brothers,
the older brothers are freed in the future to a certain extent
from the encroachment of the younger brothers on their own
wives. Though such a preventive gives security, albeit weak,
with regard to own brothers, the younger class-brothers are
too numerous to be all married off in turn and secured
ooo against. By way of an exception, I observed several cases

*835 /179 cont./ By way of an exception, I observed several cases
578 where jealous men moved to an isolated place immediately
182 after the wedding, in order to avoid the competition of their
166 [361] brothers. Thus, the settlement of Sakh-Kotan, the southernmost
Gilyak settlement on the western shore, was founded by
such a jealous man; when I visited it in 1897, I found there
only its founder with his numerous descendants, and my Gilyak
companions made not a few jokes about him, but he was invulnerable
-- his wife was of an age when women are well
*835 beyond suspicion. But such cases are exceptional, and all the
578 more exceptional are cases of sharp clashes between brothers
834 on account of jealousy. In order to avoid them, only an observance
of tact is demanded. Such cases are possible when
an individual wife and a bachelor tuvn go beyond the bounds
of decency and tact: when a woman begins to run after her
sweetheart publicly, disappears from the home, and completely
disregards her obligations to her individual husband.
In such cases it is sometimes necessary for the sweetheart to
move out of the house of his brother or even out of his village,
[166] and the woman sometimes gets a scolding. I met such exiles
a couple of times in northern Sakhalin. Usually, however, the
*835 relations between tuvn are quite peaceful. If the older brother
578 gets a little angry, it is in silence and without any consequences.
Any active reaction is considered a sin. It is considered a
great sin to challenge one's brother to a duel out of jealousy.
I personally never happened even to hear of such cases. I
happened to find out about one such case from B. Pilsudski,
but this was a completely /180/ exceptional instance. A
certain Lokhmatka, a young Gilyak also very well known to
me personally, a very poor lad, but one who enjoyed unusual
success with the Gilyak women, allowed himself to live too
openly with the wife of one of his tuvn. According to the
[626] Gilyak custom, as I have already said, publicity in such cases
[554] is not allowed. It is allowed in exceptional cases, when the
[556] hero is an outstanding and rich man, esteemed by all.
Lokhmatka, however, was a thriftless Gilyak, everlastingly in
debt to everybody, lightheaded, and undistinguished by any

/180 cont./

*835 male virtues. Nevertheless, his older *tuvn* in no way reacted to
578 even this breach of etiquette. Only at the instigation of his
associates did he resolve to challenge him to a duel, but
Lokhmatka absolutely rejected this flattering proposal. Then
his rival hit him with a cudgel, but Lokhmatka did not react
even to that, and since, according to Gilyak custom, it is
prohibited to beat a man who does not defend himself, his
rival had to let the matter rest, while Lokhmatka continued
his public relationship with the man's wife just as before.
*835 Never once among the Gilyak did I chance to observe how
578 an individual husband reacted upon finding his wife *in flagrante*
171 *delicto* with one of his brothers. But one may get an idea
from a scene which I observed among the Orochi where the
same rule operates with respect to the wives of brothers. Once
I happened to be spending the night in the tent of the richest
and most respected Orochi, Ivan Kuznets. In the tent, besides Ivan and his wife, there chanced to be spending the night
a very distant kinsman of Ivan's, the youth Timoshka, who
was a very poor and thriftless lad, but a great lover of women,
preferring to go visiting and lovemaking to any economic
cares. In the evening our host left to look for elks, and
Timoshka, without any ceremony, got under the covers of his
young hostess. They did not expect the old man until morning. But meanwhile an unfavorable wind had interfered with
the hunting, and Ivan returned earlier than might have been
expected. Entering the balagan, Ivan lit a splinter and caught
sight of Timoshka, taking his place in the conjugal bed. From
[152] the proud and hot-tempered Ivan one might have expected --
especially against poor Timoshka -- the most furious outburst
of jealousy, the more so because his wife was considered a
prize beauty, and he was already at an age when jealousy
shows itself particularly strongly. Nevertheless, Ivan limited
himself to swearing a strong Russian curse-word, after which
Timoshka, smiling embarrassedly, moved over to his own
place, while Ivan, groaning, lay down beside his frivolous
wife.

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*835 Such are the relations between the categories of group pu and an'g:ej. Within his own clan, the Gilyak has at his disposal the dozens of wives of his "brothers." In the clan of his akhmalk (and there may be many of these) dozens of daughters of the "brothers" of his mother are at his disposal, and finally, outside of these clans the sisters of the wives of his most distant tuvn, and the wives of the sons of his "mother's" sisters, belong to him. And since, in addition, due to the contemporary conditions of life, his own clansmen and the members of the clans of his akhmalk are scattered throughout the most remote settlements, there is hardly a place where a visiting Gilyak could not find his lawful an'g:ej. One may say the same thing about the Gilyak that is said, mutatis mutandis, about "kumi" and "kroki," who throughout the whole extent of their territory find everywhere a lawful wife for themselves.

*835 595 58 Thus, every Gilyak usually is joined in a dual marriage: 1) in the customary individual marriage with one or more women either from the class of his an'g:ej (in this case mainly with the daughters of his mother's brother) or with women of alien groups; this form of marriage among brothers sometimes takes on the form of purely communal polyandry; 2) in a group marriage with all the women of the class an'g:ej, where sexual intercourse with some of them is accompanied by joint cohabitation, a common economy with their individual husbands, and takes place more or less regularly (most often within a common economy of brothers); or else this right of sexual intercourse is potential and is exercised only insofar as is possible and not regularly.

*835 171 Thus, we have to do here with the typical group marriage, examples of which are known to all among the most diverse peoples of the earth. An extremely curious, typical analogue in the life of other peoples is the marriage system of the Australian Dieri tribe (1), among whom both aspects of sexual

1. "Australian Group Relations," by Howitt (Papers relating to Anthropology

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/181 cont./

Contrib. to the Smithsonian
Institute, 1885), pp. 12 *passim*.

intercourse are legalized, in contrast to the Gilyak marriage system, with the differentiated terms *noa* and *piruari*. According to this system, every woman is joined in individual marriage to one man, and the spouses call each other *noa*; but at the same time she is joined in a group marriage to a whole category of men, who mutually call each other *piruari*, with the characteristic distinction that persons of this category are solemnly affirmed by the high council of the tribe.

/182/ The object which these measures pursue is evidently the following: 1) to strengthen in the social consciousness the lawfulness of sexual relations for a certain group of persons; 2) to make commonly known the names of the persons of this group of spouses. Among the Gilyak the matter [867] has not gone so far -- the tribe is too small, and every person from childhood knows very well from the words of his parents the names of his group *pu* and *an'g:ej*, and, consequently, all the rights connected with these names. Under other conditions the Gilyak would probably have developed the procedure practiced among the Dieri. The following characteristic analogies between the marriages of the Gilyak and the Dieri are also curious: 1) "a woman becomes the *noa* of a man, having been married to him when she was still a child" (1).

1. Howitt, *op. cit.*, p. 811,
Table IV.

2) Judging by the kinship terminology, *piruari* (i.e., group husbands and wives) are not arbitrarily designated by the great council, but from a definite circle of kinsmen, specifically, for the women the brothers of her husband are *piruari*, while for a man -- the sisters of his wife. So, by one and the same term, *apiri waka*, the *piruari* designate

/182 cont./
*835 their mother and their father's brother; in exactly the same
171 way, by one and the same term, *andri waka*, the *piruari* designate their father, their mother's sister, and their father's brother's wife (*ibid*., Table IV). All the children of each *noa* are one another's brothers and sisters and they are all considered children of the *piruari* group to which this *noa* belongs (*ibid*., 19).

IV.

831 Moral and Psychic Consequences of the Sexual Norms

The peculiar norms of sexual relations described by us, broadly permissive on the one hand, strictly prohibitive on the other, are reflected in the morals and psychics of the Gilyak in two diametrically opposed trends.

The permissive norms, which give both men and women
such an extensive legitimate freedom in sexual relations,
naturally must have given rise to general sexual laxity. In
fact, the virtues of chastity, sexual moderation, and conjugal
[837] fidelity are unknown to the Gilyak. Among married women,
and then as a rare exception, one still finds individuals who
are more or less faithful to their husbands; among men, by
the admission of the Gilyak themselves, even such exceptions
831 are not encountered. In the society of the most respected
521 individuals, tales of the most piquant romantic /183/ adventures are recounted with relish. An extensive amorous
experience does not stain the reputation of a gentleman
(*urdla n′ig:yvyn*) at all. In my presence, and that of a gathering of the most honored elders, a young Gilyak, Laruk, to the
accompaniment of general noisy approval and merry laughter,
related his numerous romantic exploits, about how, by the
way, in one settlement he had engendered no less than 20
831 children... Such an attitude of respected people toward the
sexual laxity of youngsters is only possible in a society where

/183 cont./
831 group sexual cohabitation is legitimately practiced on a large
831 scale. When reproaches were sometimes directed by older
861 persons at younger ones for sexual excesses, it was only on
account of economic considerations, since sexual diversions
831 frequently distract youths from work at home. Reproaches were
*835 also directed at pregnant maidens, but here the considerations
848 were of a special nature, about which we spoke above: 1)
the danger of a connection with persons of the forbidden cate-
gories, and principally, 2) the anonymity of the father of the
831 child. But ordinarily the adventures of the youth are no
574 secret and do not give rise to reproach. It is a perfectly
883 ordinary phenomenon for young men to set out for a visit of
several months' duration to the settlements of their "fathers-
in-law," where there are so many an'g:ej maidens at their
disposal, and the older generation not only does not oppose
this, but is very happy about it. As we have already said, an
unmarried ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) is a most desirable guest
in the house. "One is obliged to feed an "ymg:i" (son-in-
831 law)" (see p. 249). Women and even maidens yield little to
562 the men in laxness of attitude toward what we call sexual
834 morals. It is only necessary for them to be more careful
*[835] (especially when the matter concerns persons who are not of
the class pu), and for this reason they always affect an ap-
pearance of the sternest inaccessibility, but in reality they are
831 just as loose as the men. And yet, in view of all this, to say
834 that the Gilyak is devoid of a feeling of sexual morals would be
the greatest injustice. Actually the Gilyak give free rein to
their instincts only within socially permitted limits. And,
on the other hand, what the norms do not allow, for example,
reactions of jealousy with respect to one's tuvn, and especially
sexual intercourse with persons of forbidden categories, is
observed with a very great rigorousness completely unknown
to us, and this notwithstanding the fact that the prohibitions
on sexual intercourse often have in their favor neither
physiological, nor psychic, nor any other kind of reasonable
basis, such as, for example, the prohibitions between the
[illegible] most distant agnate male and female cousins. During

*835 /184/ During my residence of many years among the Gilyak, despite
careful questioning, I heard of only two or three instances of
clear violation of the prohibitive norms. The most outstanding
of these instances took place in the settlement of Tamlevo,
where a young Gilyak, after the death of his father, lived for
some time with his young stepmother, purchased by his father
shortly before his death. This incident shocked all Sakhalin,
and he was spoken of as some kind of monster. Another commonly
known incident involved the young Gilyak, Pavlinka,
who married a woman from the clan of his ymg:i, i.e., from
[177] the clan that took its wives from Pavlinka's clan. But Pavlinka
was a considerably Russified Gilyak who had served in the
police service and regarded the customs of his people superciliously.
177 Another Russified Gilyak, Allykh, from the settlement
*835 of Tamlevo, after the death of one of his younger tuvn,
587 compelled the gathering of clansmen which was deciding,
768 as was customary, to whom the widow of the deceased should
pass, to award her to him, although he, as an aki (elder
brother), had no rights whatever to this. But these cases are
the exception and evoked an energetic reaction from the
community.

684 In the first two cases the violators had to go into voluntary
exile, i.e., settle outside the settlement and lead a
lonely existence, with all the deprivations of clan blessings
[177] associated with ostracism. But, we repeat, these were quite
exceptional cases bound up with psychics changed under the
influence of an alien culture (1).

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[731]

1. There are exceptional cases of another kind when the marriage norms are disrupted for the sake of upholding other norms which are considered even more important by society; this occurs during an epidemic, when a husband is not found for this or that widow according to the principles of the levirate.

/184 cont./

*835 levirate. Then, in order that the
183 woman remain in the clan of her
587 deceased husband, she is given, ac-
768 cording to the decision of the clan
[614] council, to any clansman of an
ascending or descending degree of
kinship with her late husband.

684 Ordinarily the very idea of sexual connection with persons
*835 of the forbidden categories evokes an instinctive disgust.
[776] In the rare instances where feelings of love arise between such
persons, the Gilyak regard it as the inspiration of an evil
spirit, as a phenomenon unnatural not only in men, but in
[825] beasts. We have seen that in such instances they even slay a
fornicating dog. The attitude toward people is entirely the
[762] same. Ordinarily lovers in the forbidden categories slay
themselves by mutual agreement or under the direct urging
[533] of their relatives. In one last song of such an unhappy pair,
the woman sings of how /185/ her elder sister called her a
"bitch" for her love for her uncle, and called the latter a
"devil," and how all -- her mother, father, and sisters --
urged upon her: "slay thyself, slay!" Incidentally, the object of her criminal passion, her uncle, could be of her age, could grow up far apart from her, and the love between the criminal pair might seem perfectly natural in our eyes.

*835 The feeling of sexual repulsion toward persons of the forbidden categories has been transformed into an instinct, like the very similar feeling toward one's mother or own sisters in our society. The impression of an instinct is also produced on us by that amazing ability of the Gilyak to suppress in himself the feeling of jealousy, an ability which he manifests when the question of the group-husbands of his individual spouse arises. Without these instincts, or in any case the noteworthy virtues of self-control and self-restraint, the realization of the sexual norms would be impossible; unrestrained jealousy would result in the destruction of group

/185 cont./

*835 marriage, and without the instinct of sexual repulsion or indifference for persons of the forbidden categories, the majority of the prohibitive norms would lose their strength.

How were these powerful instincts, or at least semi-instincts, able to develop?

*835 867 In the development of these instincts a powerful influence was exerted by the *classificatory system of kinship*. From earliest childhood the little boys and girls know exactly whom they should designate by what term, and what sexual rights-obligations are bound up with those terms; thus from childhood they begin to regard certain relationships with certain individuals as something established by nature itself and as immutable. Just as our training develops sexual indifference toward parents, children, and own brothers and sisters, in the same way among the Gilyak, owing to the class terminology and the prohibitions mastered at an early age, there is developed a similar feeling with respect not only to own father and mother, but also toward all "fathers" and "mothers," toward all the brothers of the father, toward all "sisters" and "brothers," sisters of the mother, agnate cousins, etc. And in just the same way a baby knows from childhood the rights of the *pu* category to its *an'g:ej*; once he knows from childhood that every *tuvn* has the right to his individual *an'g:ej*, then when he is an adult he will be able to look indifferently enough on the sexual relations of
*835 684 his own wife with his *tuvn* and her *pu*. But at the same time he is far from indifferent when such relations take place with outsiders. Then his wrath knows no bounds: /186/ he kills an adulterer *in flagrante delicto*, and in other cases he furiously fights a duel with his rival. And moreover, if even his own *tuvn* allows himself to break the established etiquette -- non-publicity -- in his relations with his wife, he does not remain indifferent, but forces the offender to withdraw from the settlement.

G /186 cont./
602 Psychic prohibitions. But side by side with training and, I
688 would say, the hypnotic influence of the kinship terminology, a still mightier force acts on the development of the abovementioned instincts -- prohibitions of a special kind, prohibitions on psychic intercourse: prohibitions on speech, glances, and familiar address (joking). Corresponding to the two different instincts necessary for the realization of the sexual norms, these prohibitions are of a dual character. Some are created for persons between whom it is necessary to weaken the instinct of jealousy to the last degree, others -- for those who must avoid havi[illegible] sexual relations with each other. Both factors, both th[illegible]hibitions of sexual intercourse and the prohibitions of psychic intercourse, act not only as factors of hypnosis and habit, but also as very strict taboos of religion. To violate
G one or another of these norms, in the eyes of primitive man,
602 is as dangerous as the most dangerous blasphemy. The strength
171 of the taboo on psychic intercourse in particular and what
688 instincts they can develop in the soul of primitive man can
Y be seen even from Iokhel'son's /Jochelson/ tale about a Yukagir
602 who by mistake allowed himself familiarities with respect to
171 his own brother, but when he realized his error, he passed
688 away on the spot out of horror.
538

This is the way Iokhel'son tells this amazing story, entirely in keeping with Gilyak psychics.

"There were two brothers. With them lived the husband of an older sister, with whom it is permitted to talk. Therefore, both brothers frequently joked with him and played pranks... The brothers, as usual, had a non-speaking relationship. One time the older brother, upon returning from hunting, found the young people in the settlement playing games and dancing. His younger brother, who happened to be dressed in the fur clothing of his brother-in-law /zyat'/, was in the chain of dancers with his back to the new arrival. The latter took his younger brother to be his brother-in-law, and, wishing to scare him as a joke, he ran up behind him, put his hand between his legs, and touched his sexual organs.

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602 /186 cont./
171 The younger brother quickly turned around. The older brother
688 realized his error and fell dead then and there "from shame."
Y As usual, they performed an autopsy to /187/ learn the cause
602
538 of his death, and his heart, according to the legend, was
171 found to be broken in two" (1).
688
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1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, XIII.

G
602 Let us proceed now to the prohibitions themselves. The prohibitions of the first kind, i.e., prohibitions established between individuals of the same sex in order to weaken the instinct of jealousy, naturally cover persons who are joined in one class by group marriage: among the men, the pu classes, i.e., the classes of persons who have the right to sexual relations with a certain class of women; and, among women, the an'g:ej classes, i.e., women having common husbands. All these individuals, all these group husbands or group wives, among whom outbursts of jealousy might so easily flare up every day and every hour, are fenced off from one another by the impassable wall of the strictest prohibition on psychic intercourse, a prohibition beginning at the threshold of life and ending only with the grave, and creating an instinct of restraint which does not yield first place to the strongest instincts of nature.

The prohibitions of the second category, as we have said, have as their aim the hindrance of sexual relations between persons of different sexes of the forbidden categories. For this reason prohibitions between persons who are mutually in the classes of "husbands" and "wives" (pu and an'g:ej), even if not in a state of individual marriage, are superfluous; any man freely converses not only with his individual wives, but with his group wives, for example, with the wives of his brothers without distinction (in some clans) or only with the wives of his older "brothers" (in others), in a word, with those women whom he calls an'g:ej and with whom he has the right

/187 cont./

of sexual intercourse. This is not the case with the individuals of the forbidden categories. But even in this category there are groups who, in the view of the Gilyak, do not require prohibitory protection; these are, first of all, the mother and, in part, the father. Sons, not to speak of daughters, may both speak and joke with the mother without any restrictions. The same applies to the whole class of "mothers" and "sons," whose designation alone, assimilated from childhood, is a sufficient guarantee of sexual indifference between its members. The situation with regard to "fathers" is somewhat stricter. The father may carry on "business" conversations with his daughter, may revile her, but he may not joke with or caress (be familiar with) his daughters. The same is true of the whole class of "fathers" and "daughters" (uncles and nieces). There are absolutely no prohibitions with regard to grandfathers, great-grandfathers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers. But this is not the case with other persons of the forbidden categories. Particular strictness marks /188/ the prohibitions between the men and women of the same clan. Men not only do not converse or dare to joke with the class of "sisters," with the "sisters" of the fathers, whom they call nanakh (elder sister), but even "to glance with the eye" at them is strictly forbidden. This prohibition applies also beyond the confines of a given clan if -- as we shall see later -- these persons reciprocally regard each other as tuvn, for example, the children of sisters who married persons from different clans. In addition, since -- as we know from the kinship terminology -- for every woman her "brother" is the potential father of her daughter-in-law /nevestka/, while, on the other hand, for every man each "sister" is the potential mother of his "son-in-law" /zyat'/, it follows that the woman is forbidden to converse and so on with the father of her daughter-in-law (actual or potential) and with his class, while a man is forbidden to converse with the mother of his son-in-law (in those clans in which the elder brothers do not have sexual rights to the wives of younger brothers). Furthermore, prohibitions of the second category are in effect (in the majority of clans), between men and the wives of their younger tuvn, on one hand,

/*188 cont.*/

602 and between the women and the elder *tuvn* of their husbands on the other. [601] As is well known from the kinship terminology, the individuals of these groups call each other by the prohibitory terms *jokh* and *atk*. These last terms are likewise used by daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law to designate each other. 602 184 Between them, as between the individuals of the prohibited categories, once again psychic intercourse is not permitted, although not with uniform strictness everywhere. Among some, for example, among the Gilyak of the estuary of the Amur, neither conversation nor jokes are allowed. In other places business relations are allowed, but jokes and conversation are forbidden. The prohibition of psychic intercourse does not exist between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law.

602 Now how the prohibitions are realized in life remains to be explained. [192] The Gilyak themselves classify the psychic forms of intercourse between prohibited categories with the terms: *indynd* (to look, *khernd* (to converse, to talk), *lerund* (to joke, play, play pranks), and *vakrund* (to quarrel, dispute, revile). But not all of these four forms are applied equally between all the categories. Thus, we have seen that the father is forbidden only *lerund* (jokes, playing pranks) with his daughter, but he is permitted to converse with her and all the more to revile her. The prohibitions on "looking in the face" -- *indynd* -- on the contrary, are in effect only between "brothers and sisters"; *lerund* applies with equal rigor between all categories. There remains the prohibition *khernd*. This term embraces two concepts: conversation and discussion, and business relations. The first are absolutely forbidden: /*189*/ one can get along without conversations, and besides conversations may lead further. It is another matter with business conversations; sometimes it is absolutely impossible to get along without them. Thus, for example, the elder brother frequently takes the place of the father in relation to the younger brothers, and it is impossible to avoid having dealings with him; therefore in extreme cases the younger brothers may address the elder brother. Brief direct

/*189 cont.*/

602 speech, in the form of orders, business advice, and so forth,
is always permitted between brothers, between daughter-in-law
and the father and mother of her husband, even between
a man and the wife of his younger brother, with the use of
the vocative case. But ordinarily they seek to avoid *direct*
address. If there is a person of a permitted category at hand,
they transmit their wish to this person, addressing their message
in such a manner that it is audible to the prohibited individual,
602 who, in turn, answers in the same manner. If not, the address
195 is in the third person or in the impersonal form. For
193 example: "the daughter-in-law, the brother, etc., could
do such a thing," instead of "daughter-in-law, do it!" Or,
"thanks to my brother," instead of "thank you, brother" etc.
Owing to this custom of getting around the prohibition on
speech by the use of the third person, the Gilyak have formed
the custom of frequently using the third person in general instead
of the second, especially in reference to strangers, out
of fear, apparently, that they may turn out to be persons of
prohibited categories. Again and again, upon the entrance of
an unknown Gilyak, one hears the phrase: "Where has the
Gilyak come from?" (instead of "where have you come from?").
Perhaps there is concealed in this custom, brought about by
the prohibition on conversation and not peculiar to the Gilyak
alone, the reason for the origin of these strange forms of the
third person in place of the second that we find in Italian,
602 Polish, Tatar, and other languages. Finally, the plural number,
193 which is commonly used in addressing old people and
[576] honored persons or strangers, is most frequently used in addressing
[554] persons of forbidden categories. Thus, for example,
in addressing the wife of an elder brother they commonly use
the singular, *chi*, while in addressing the wives of the younger
brothers, on the other hand, they use the plural, *chin*.

/189 cont./

G 602 576 171 The prohibitions on speech have had another curious result. The Gilyak have no salutation for greeting or saying farewell. It may seem strange that the Gilyak, returning to his home after a long absence or leaving his family for the long months of hunting and of danger, utters no salutation. Yet the Gilyak are very ceremonious and /190/ always greet and escort their departing guests with solemn forms of address and expressions of good wishes. The neighbors of the Gilyak, the Olcha and Goldi, as well as the Ainu, have salutations for meeting and parting. Their absence among the Gilyak arises precisely from the fact that in the home and settlement of every Gilyak there is a mass of persons with whom speech is a sin, and therefore the customary greetings could easily lead to frequent involuntary violations of the psychic taboos. Prohibitions on conversation, as is well-known, are practiced among many peoples. We shall recall, for the sake of an example, one of the American peoples, the Arapaho, among whom conversations between brothers are forbidden. The prohibitions among the Yukagir are of special interest to us. Of the prohibitions which they have in common with the Gilyak, we find among the Yukagir prohibitions between "brothers" and "sisters," between the husband's father and mother and their daughter-in-law, between older brothers and the wives of younger brothers; and, as among the Gilyak, in cases of necessity, they address each other either in the third person, or in the impersonal form, or in the plural (1).

1. Iokhel'son, Materialy /Materials/, 240.

G 602 171 B 602 582 174 835 The Buryat present examples of an interesting analogy with the Gilyak prohibitions. Among them at the present time marriage is exclusively individual, and "brothers" have no sexual rights whatever to each other's wives. Nevertheless, prohibitions with regard to the so-called khadym clearly reveal an earlier stage of group marriage. As a result of this

G
602 /190 cont./ As a result of this
171 institution, the prohibitions between a woman and the older
B brothers of her husband are very strict, and, on the other
602 hand, with respect to the younger brothers of her husband
532 prohibitions are absent. The content of the prohibition (forbidding
174 the man to sit on the bed of his khadym, to see her naked, etc.)
835 is evidence that this prohibition had the exclusive aim of preventing sexual intercourse.

V.

The Genesis of the Gilyak Marriage Norms and the Kinship Terminology

G
*174 We have examined the norms of sexual intercourse and have seen that they completely correspond to the kinship
60 terminology. Now it is necessary for us to proceed to a consideration of how this complicated system of kinship and marriage was formed, what sort of psychic substratum gave rise to the system. Obviously, such a complicated system could not arise artificially. It must have developed, without a doubt, out of one simple principle, a clear /191/ categorical imperative for the primitive man, out of which there must have grown, as from a seed, that complicated organism of Gilyak institutions which has been examined by us in such great detail. Along with the genesis of this system, however, it is necessary for us to explain also the long evolution of this system, without an understanding of which a whole series of peculiarities of the kinship nomenclature will seem completely inexplicable and, as it were, out of keeping with the general system.

/191 cont./

*174 Why, for example, do the wives of the most distant tuvn,
60 although they may be completely alien to each other, call
each other sisters? Why do I, a man, call my father-in-law,
although he may be a complete stranger, my "mother's brother,"
and under the same conditions a woman call her mother-in-law
the "sister of her father"? Why, if I am a man and marry a
woman who is a complete alien to me and to my clan, from
that moment on do all the sisters of her father, even the unmarried
ones, become my mothers, and no one from her clan
can marry the women from my clan?

Why is it that the women of my clan cannot marry into
[614] not only that clan from which anyone from my clan takes a
wife, but any clan from which this latter clan takes wives?
In what way could the apparently paradoxical fact that a man
can have male and female agnates (sons, daughters, brothers,
fathers, and mothers) in clans completely alien to him have
*174 come about? This confusion and apparent absurdity can be
58 explained only by the fact that the primitive, simple, and
60 logically consistent system of marriage, like every religious
[183] norm, has created around itself by a peculiarity natural to
it a fabric of extended norms. On the other hand, under the
[178] influence of historical conditions and the conditions of life,
it underwent a gradual extension and complication, while
at the same time the kinship terminology, as an element
which by its own nature, in view of its formality, was distinguished
by its extreme stability, remained unchangeable.
What was the scheme of primitive marriage like? In certain
places in our exposition we have already discussed it. Now we
must elucidate this question in all its fullness. The detailed
analysis both of the prohibitive and of the permissive norms of
marriage that we made in the preceding chapter has shown that
these norms completely correspond to the kinship terminology;
in other words, the whole intricate Gilyak kinship terminology
is nothing more than an automatic registry of the marriage system.
[178] This faithful registrar, so stable in the face of all change,

601 /191 cont./
*174 the natural key to the /192/ restoration of the Gilyak system
[58] of marriage in its pure primitive aspect.

[178] But what does the kinship terminology teach us?

First of all, we see that the Gilyak kinship terminology does not have special terms for relationships by marriage, which are absolutely identical with the terms of blood (cognate) kinship. In Gilyak, kinsmen by marriage are
[602] called *pandf*, i.e., people of a common origin, cognates,
[211] for a man, from the side of the mother, for women -- from the side of the father. The father of the wife is the brother of the mother; the mother of the husband is the sister of the father; the husband is the son of the father's sister; the wife is the daughter of the mother's brother, etc.

It is clear that such a terminology could develop only under conditions where marriages had to be made exclusively with blood kinsmen through the father or through the mother. This was first. In what form these marriages were accomplished is shown to us by other kinship terms.

614 Within each clan, as we have seen, in each generation
601 the wives of *tuvn*, that is, the wives of own and collateral
582 brothers, call each other sisters, and their mothers-in-law, that
*174 is the mothers of all these *tuvn*, they call aunts (sisters of the father), and, conversely, these latter call them nieces; on the other hand, every male calls the sister of his father-in-law his mother. From this it is clear that 1) the wives of all the members of the clan are necessarily kinswomen taken from one clan, in other words, each clan takes wives for itself exclusively from one common clan, with marriage outside of this clan being impossible; 2) under these conditions, marriage is regulated by generations, i.e., in each generation the clansmen-"brothers" take from a clan which is obligatory for marriage a corresponding generation of "sisters," the nieces of those women whom the generation of their "fathers" married, and their descendents, in turn, take the following generation of "sisters," the nieces of their mothers, etc. This is why the wives of "brothers" call each other

/192 cont./
614 "sisters" (for they are such in reality), their mothers-in-law --
601 aunts on their fathers' side, and husbands call the sisters of
582 their fathers-in-law mothers. We shall not speak here of the
*174 group character of these marriage unions and of the classes
of "mothers," "fathers," "brothers," "fathers-in-law" /wives' fathers/ which arise from this, for we have already explained it in detail earlier.

Thus to the first principle -- the obligation of marriage with one's blood kinsmen -- is added another principle -- the wives of clansmen must of necessity be taken from one common clan, i.e., two clans are bound to each other by a mutual obligation: one must take wives from the other clan, and the latter /193/ must give its wives to the former. All men of the latter, according to generation, are considered from birth to be the husbands of the women of the corresponding generation of the other clan, and, as we have seen, these classes in actuality call each other pu and an'g:ej.

But from the kinship terminology we know that the reverse is not allowed, i.e., men of the second clan and women of the first are not joined in the class of husbands and wives. Thus, an exchange marriage between the two aforementioned clans is not allowed. All these principles which have been deduced by us above a priori from the kinship terminology completely correspond to contemporary reality. We have seen that even now there exists the right of marriage, that even now a marriage from the class akhmalk is alone considered "pure," that marriages of clansmen are usually made from one common clan and that exchange marriage between clans is not allowed. Now we can with confidence continue our analysis.

614 But what is this clan from which clansmen are obliged
601 to take wives? The answer to this is that detail of nomencla-
602 ture whereby the mother of every man is the sister of his
582 wife's father; in other words, all wives of clansmen are
*174 taken from that clan from which their ancestress came. The
members of the clan are thus, both on the father's side and

/193 cont./
614 on the mother's side, of one common blood. For each individ-
601 ual member of the clan, as we have seen above, this is expressed
602 in the fact that a person usually marries the daughters of his
582 mother's brother, in other words, the daughters of every man
*174 belong to the sons of his sister. This principle also is the link
from which not only the classificatory system of kinship, so
complicated in appearance, but also group marriage and
finally, the clan grew. We shall also examine this dynamic.
We shall see below that this principle, still so common nowadays
among many primitive peoples, the principle that the daughters
of the brothers belong to the sons of their sisters, goes back
to the most ancient stage of the maternal family, the one
that immediately followed blood marriage, and served as the
basic method of providing the group with wives. In order to
satisfy this most vital need in the early stages of human
society, every mother obtained for her sons the daughters of
her brother, in other words, all the descendants of a sister
obtained as wives all the descendants of her brother. Why
such a principle arose, why they took as wives exclusively
the daughters of the mother's brother, and not the children
of the mother's sister or the daughters of the father's brother,
*174 we shall see below. Now let us look at the consequences
582 this principle had in its practical application.

591 /194/ 1) Once the daughters of the brother belonged from
581 birth to the sons of the sister, it was most natural that the
future husbands should go at a very early age to the homes of
their future wives /sic/. This arrangement is still to be seen
among the Gilyak, as among many other primitive tribes.
In "pure" marriages, i.e., between the children of brother
and sister, from earliest childhood the future wife moves
[602] to the home of the husband and grows up with him. Termi-
nology has perpetuated this arrangement in that even from
birth children in certain classes stand in the reciprocal

581
*174 /194 cont./
582 relationship of pu and an′g:ej toward each other (1).
591
602
[114]
[835]

1. This fact radically refutes the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters arises from an instinctive sexual aversion created by living intimately together. [113] Crawley cites in this respect the categorical assertion of Ellis (see "Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 52).

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2) The above-mentioned principle created in the persons of the daughters of the brother a permanent pool of women for each man, but this measure was inadequate for the satisfaction of the objective for which it was created; corresponding norms of distribution were necessary in order to guarantee peace between the possessors of the group of women. It is first of all clear that the norms of distribution could not be exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession, as a general rule, would have evoked endless discord; a purely individual arrangement was not always possible because of the inevitable fortuitousness in the distribution of men and women, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms to be worked out, therefore, had to be of such a nature that they could give satisfaction in the face of any combination.

The individual mode of distribution, of course, would be the most satisfactory, but it requires an equal distribution of the sexes, which is not always possible, especially within the limited sphere of a few families. The norms of distribution under such conditions had to be a compromise between the communal and the individual mode, in order to satisfy any combination of the distribution of the sexes.

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*174 581 582 Thus there was created that type of individual-group marriage which we see among the Gilyak, and among all other peoples where marriage is founded on this principle of marriage relations which they have in common with the Gilyak. This system of individual group marriage was developed under the influence of the various combinations in the distribution of the /195/ sexes among the descendants of brother and sister. In order to be convinced of this fact, it is enough to consider several such combinations.

1. The simplest one is that of one brother and one sister. Moreover, the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons. Then of course, individual distribution is entirely possible, if, however, men and women simultaneously reached the marriageable age. But à la longue /in the long run/ such a combination is almost completely impossible, because the descendants of the sister and the descendants of the brother expand into several families, and in such an environment only as an exception can there be cases when the number of men of marriageable age in one group of descendants at any given moment will be equal to the number of women in another group of descendants.

171 *174 581 582 595 2. Let us take the same instance: one brother and one sister, but at the given moment the brother has only one daughter, while the sister has several sons. Then communal marriage, as it is described among many peoples and appears so typically in all the descriptions of the Tibetans, becomes inevitable. This is the situation described in the Gilyak epos in such expressions as this, "two (or more) brothers supported one wife," a situation which, as we have indicated, is often encountered in reality even today. The most customary mode of using wives is the same as in group marriage -- each brother enjoys the communal wife in the absence of the other: "in Tibet, where the brothers very often have only one common wife, it is rare for more than one brother to be in the house at one time" (1). Among the

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1. Westermarck, op. cit., p. 116.

/195 cont./

171 Gilyak this is not required in cases of communal possession;
*174 the wife first sleeps with one brother (the oldest), then moves
581 over to another. As for the children, either they are not dis-
582 tinguished at all according to fathers, or, as in the case of
595 the Toda tribe, the first child is regarded as the offspring of
the oldest brother, the second of the next brother, etc.

*174 3. The same situation in a new variant: the first
581 brother has reached marriageable age before the second.
582 The elder brother takes the only daughter of the sister of his
835 father /sic/ as his individual wife, but then the younger
brother comes of marriageable age. The elder brother remains the individual spouse, but the second brother enjoys conjugal rights, by the rights of a group spouse. Then another daughter of the brother grows up to be of marriageable age. She naturally becomes the individual spouse of the second brother, but the elder brother obtains the same group rights to the wife /196/ of the younger brother as the latter once enjoyed with respect to the wife of the elder brother.

171 4. At a given moment a brother has several adult
*174 daughters, while the sister as yet has only one adult son.
581 The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of the
582 sister of the brother /sic/. Thus it is at the present time
595 among the majority of American Indian tribes, where a man
who has married the oldest daughter is for that reason obliged to take as wives all of her sisters. But now another brother grows up. One of the wives is yielded up to him as his individual wife, the rest remaining with the elder brother as the most well-to-do, who is better able to support several wives than the brother who is just beginning to earn his livelihood. The latter, naturally, is rightfully the group husband of all the wives of the elder brother; the converse right of the elder brother is not so indisputable.

*174 An analogous development takes place if the elder brother-
581 polygamist has several brothers who gradually grow up; then
582 each one of them will obtain his own individual wife, but
835 at the same time each of the younger brothers will have

/196 cont./

*174 group rights to the wives of his elder brothers, who in their
581 time enjoyed his wives. In the majority of cases, therefore,
582 we see that only younger brothers enjoy group rights to the
[835] wives of the elder brothers.

5. Thus far, we have taken the simplest combinations -- one brother and one sister. Where there are several brothers and several sisters, the consequences will be similar, but will assume a more complex form. If there were always the same number of sisters and brothers, and if each brother and sister had a corresponding number of female and male offspring, then each pair of brothers and sisters could form a closed marriage group, but actually such cases can only be rare exceptions. Ordinarily, on the contrary, the number of brothers and sisters is not equal, and an even distribution of the sexes in their offspring is even less possible. Let us take several examples. Several brothers have one sister; the brothers have several daughters, the sister several sons. This time it is not only own sisters, but also first cousins who are the group wives of the brothers. Or: there are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough own sisters for the own brothers, whereupon the group union will be composed not only of own brothers and sisters, but of male and female first cousins as well.

Finally, women did not always have brothers, and the latter did not always have daughters, and then, naturally, it was necessary /197/ to resort to the daughters of first and second cousins. In a word, into a marriage group of the offspring of a brother and sister are inevitably drawn, on the one hand, all the collateral brothers up to the most distant degrees, and, on the other -- the collateral sisters, and thus there is established group marriage between own and collateral brothers, on the one hand, and own and collateral sisters on the other -- the typical punalua family in its purest form.

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The natural result of this system was the classificatory system of kinship, according to which a man gives the name of wife not only to his individual wife, but also to all her sisters, and to the wives of all of his own brothers and to the sisters of these wives, both own and collateral; on the same basis he gives the name of mother to all the wives of the brothers of his father, both own and collateral, while he calls their husbands his fathers, and he calls their children his brothers and sisters; in exactly the same way he calls the brother of his mother father-in-law, her sister -- mother, while he calls the daughters of the brothers of the mother his wives.

The classificatory system, which appears to be so complicated, becomes completely clear and simple; it is logically developed out of a basic principle -- the female offspring of a brother belong to all the male offspring of his sister. At first it may seem strange and extremely complicated that, for example, a man's wives include not only the wives of his brothers, but also their sisters. In actuality, this is explained very simply -- the wives of the brothers cannot be other than sisters, and they all belong to the whole group of "brothers" -- cousins of these sisters. Or, a man calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law"; this is because his father-in-law can only be the brother of his mother, no one else.

The only variation possible in this system is connected with the differences in the rights of group marriage of younger and elder brothers. Among some peoples all the brothers are equally the group husbands of their mutual spouses; among others only the younger brothers enjoy group rights with respect to the wives of elder brothers. Among the Gilyak, as we have seen, we find both systems, and correspondingly two terminologies with respect to the brothers of the father and the wives of the brothers. Among some only the elder brothers of the father are called fathers, while

/197 cont./

* 174 among others only the younger brothers; similarly among some
582 a man only calls the wives of his elder "brothers" his wives,
601 while among others all the wives of the brothers equally.

Now we shall continue our analysis of the Gilyak norms.

* 174 6. Once every mother by right takes the daughters of her
614 brother /198/ for her sons, then by the same right her daughters must belong to the sons of the sister of her husband; this sister, moreover, cannot be married to her brother, because, as we have seen, the exchange of women between the descendants of sister and brother is not permitted. Thus, side by side with the two groups, the descendants of the brother and the descendants of the sister, there is formed a third group -- the offspring of the sisters of the husbands of the latter group.

7. Since in each of these groups the men draw their wives from the group of the brothers of the mother, while the women marry into the third group of the sister of the father, each group forms a completely exogamous unit, i.e., clan, and, depending on whether the men go into the clan of the wife or, vice versa, the women into the clan of the husband, there resulted either a maternal or a paternal clan. Among the Gilyak the clan has been paternal from remote times. The strength and unity of such a clan union rested not only on the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy or prohibitions against certain degrees of kinship can exist even without a clan union), but on the precious positive ties, on the common right of marriage, on the common right of the clansmen to the women of the blood clan of their ancestress, on the mutual rights of group marriage, on the privilege of having for one's sons-in-law /zyat'ya/ one's blood kinsmen -- the children of the sisters of one's fathers, the members of that clan which from time immemorial has married its ancestresses. The strength of this union was doubled by the peculiarity of its composition. Within the clan there was not a single non-blood element: if the clan was maternal and the sons-in-law moved to the

/198 cont./

614 *174 home of the wife, all the women born into the clan remained together; their husbands, taken into the clan, were all of the same clan -- the male cousins of their wives, the sons of the sisters of their fathers. 602 614 *174 In the agnatic clan the imported women were all kin to each other, either sisters or aunts and nieces (and blood kinswomen -- female cousins of their husbands), the daughters of the brothers of their mothers. This common blood kinship of the representatives of both sexes of both the native and the imported elements of the clan is a still more important cement of the clan union, a religious cement binding together all the elements with the highest ties of the common cult of the ancestors. 601 614 *174 The terminology has perpetuated this arrangement by the fact that the wives in each generation call each other sister and their husbands' mothers -- aunts, and a man calls the daughter of his mother's brother wife, while a woman calls the son of her father's sister husband.

614 587 *174 8. Since marriage is obligatory into the group of the sisters of the father exclusively, once the daughters of a man belong from birth /199/ to the sons of his sister, and this rule, naturally, became a religious imperative, then under no circumstances can either the men or the women marry outside of the indicated groups. [171] Hence a twofold levirate, so often encountered, by the way, among the American Indians. If the individual husband of a woman should die, she cannot under any circumstances leave the group of her husband. Whether young or old, she passes to one of the class of "brothers" of her deceased husband. Conversely, if a man's wife dies, he cannot look for a wife anywhere except in the class of her sisters.

614 583 *174 9. Under this arrangement, as long as it maintains its complete purity, within the marriage groups there can be no question either of abductions or of bride price.

/199 cont./

583 There is no need for a man to abduct that which belongs
*174 to him through a religious imperative, so powerfully active
171 in primitive society. Abduction can only arise under special circumstances, when there are no women in the marriage group, while other groups are obligated in turn to give their women to definite groups. Individual cases of abduction have led to the institution of mock abduction. For the side which is giving its women in marriage in violation of the prohibition, this is a means of deceiving the gods, the gods-ancestors, to whom marriages with persons of alien blood are the gravest insult. By this alone can we explain the wide distribution of this otherwise inexplicable institution among primitive peoples. Only by this pious deception of the gods can we explain those frightful cruelties which are practiced in connection with mock abduction, although both parties are joined in wedlock with the willing consent of the kinsmen of the bride and groom. It is sufficient to take the example of the Kurnai tribe, among whom there exists the institution of obligatory marriage, analogous to that of the Gilyak. In this tribe, the kinsmen of the bride, having of their own free will allowed the bride to run away with her groom, later start out in pursuit of her, and, when they have caught her, they pierce her leg with a spear and beat her half to death. And in many tribes even the abductor considers it his obligation to beat his beloved no less cruelly than her parents, desiring to show the gods-ancestors that it was not at all love, the intention to marry, which prompted him to abduct her.

847 An insufficiency of males or females can lead also to
*174 another institution, likewise not uncommon among primitive
171 peoples, namely, the killing of newborn children. Let us say that clan A, from which clan B takes its women, has died out; then, in order to avoid the wrath of the gods for future marriages to aliens, they resort to killing the male children. /200/ On the other hand, if the clan to which they customarily give women has died out, then cases of

/200 cont./

847 *174 171 murdering the girls are possible. Such examples are well-known among the Toda tribes, in spite of the fact that the number of males is greater there than the number of females.

583 *174 10. Likewise, with this arrangement the institution of bride price is impossible under normal conditions. Payment for the bride is not permitted; otherwise the obligation of marriage would be merely fictitious. This is still to be seen among the Gilyak today: no matter how avid the Gilyak may be for bride price, it is not permitted in cases of marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother.

582 *174 In order that such an essentially exogamous system might be preserved and function in all its purity, a whole series of favorable conditions is necessary. First of all, a whole complex of favorable economic, social and sanitary conditions is required in order that, on the one hand, in propagating themselves the various families of the phratry should be able to maintain themselves on the common territory, and, on the other hand, that the increase should exceed the losses of the families, and that there should be no cases of extinction of entire clans constituting links in the phratry. Furthermore, some degree of isolation of the tribe from alien influences is necessary, so that the religious imperative of obligatory marriages within the phratry may be preserved in all its rigor. Finally, it is necessary that there be preserved economic conditions under which, on the one hand, the social equality of the members of the phratry would remain more or less the usual phenomenon, and, on the other hand -- that under the influence of new economic conditions there should not be engendered one or another temptation to make woman the object of purchase and sale.

*174 614 178 166 [582] The preservation of all these conditions among primitive peoples in the course of a long time inevitably encounters a whole series of obstacles. And so it has been among the Gilyak. No matter how much the Gilyak prize the primordial abode of their forefathers, economic conditions force individual persons, individual families, and sometimes even a whole

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614 clan to change residence and to withdraw more and more
178 from their kinsmen. Before my eyes, in the course of a few
166 years, whole clans -- family after family -- in search of
* 174 more advantageous hunting and fishing sites, moved to the most remote regions, from the Tym' to Taraika (in the territory of the Ainu), to the Amur, etc. Discord between clansmen and wars play a specific role in the dispersion. In the chapter on the history of the clans we saw what a huge role these factors played in the shuffling and distribution. A clear illustration is presented by the history of the Pilavo clan that we introduced; from /201/ the southernmost outlying districts of the Gilyak territory, bordering on the Ainu, they migrated first to the northernmost part of the western shore, near Cape Marii, and from there a part of them moved to the lower reaches of the Amur and, finally, to the middle Amur, almost in the environs of Khabarovsk, where they became completely Goldified. It is true, all the numerous branches of this so widely scattered clan, although they have not even preserved any ties among themselves, have remained exogamous up to the present, but to continue their old phratral marital relations has been completely impossible for them. To a greater or lesser degree, such phenomena are taking place even now. This is precisely the reason why in real life, just as in the epos, it happens again and again that a Gilyak must travel hundreds of versts to find a wife from the proper clan, but such individual acts of heroism cannot be performed by everyone, and willy-nilly there remain exceptions. Most often such a lone person is
[597] obliged to have himself adopted into an alien clan and to marry the widow of a member of the adoptive clan and thus completely separate himself from his old phratry.

If it is not just unmarried individuals who move, but whole families, then their offspring willy-nilly begin to enter into marital unions with the nearer clans.

/201 cont./

161 Still more destructive is the process of depopulation. We
177 are speaking not of the gradual dying out of separate families,
614 but mainly of the process of catastrophic depopulation. This
731 process is of comparatively recent origin, for it is an im-
*174 mediate consequence of clashes with cultured peoples, first
Eastern and later European peoples as well. These peoples, together with their alcohol and exploitations, have brought the Gilyak a whole set of communicable diseases with an especially destructive effect in their non-immunized primitive surroundings. We have already discussed the ravaging effects of this process. It is sufficient to say here that whole clans died out before my eyes, and one not infrequently meets clans in which only one or two individuals are left. It must be borne in mind that the process of depopulation does not by any means strike clans equally, so that at any given time one clan may remain untouched, while another may lose a considerable number of its members.

161 War also has an effect similar to that of diseases and
614 various other causes. Although according to the interclan
72 rules the women are spared and the number of men who are
*174 killed is limited, nevertheless /202/ in the heat of battle
the rules are not always observed, and thus a military epopee can also lead to the destruction of a clan.

*174 Contact with other peoples, both primitive and more
177 highly cultured, must have acted in an indirectly destructive
manner. As a general rule, the contact of outlooks broadens intellectual horizons and weakens the strength of religious imperatives. A representative of a higher culture looks down on the institutions of a lower race, and the representatives of the latter gradually begin to observe their own institutions less rigorously themselves. At first separate individuals begin to violate the law a little, and they gradually begin to draw after them many others. The
[582] Gilyak themselves assert that with the coming of the Russians
their marriage regulations were considerably weakened. But even before the appearance of the Russians the Gilyak had contact with various other peoples.

/202 cont./

* 174 As we have seen, the Gilyak were also furnished with
177 wives by the Chinese; they, just like the Ainu, furnished
[221] them with slaves. Some influence was also exerted by
[437] seasonal trade and hunting expeditions to the territory of
[439] neighboring peoples. The Amur Gilyak often went into the
Ainu territory for years on hunting expeditions or for purposes
of trade and frequently brought Ainu women back to their
[563] homeland. Conversely, representatives of the Tungus peoples
or Ainu settled among the Gilyak and entered into marital
relations with them or carried off their women. And although
these cases might be isolated, nevertheless they could not
be without influence.

* 174 A quite specific influence in the economic sphere has
177 been exerted by communication with cultured peoples. Until
556 the encounters with the Chinese and the Russians there was no
stimulus for the accumulation of riches. Until then there
were only objects of consumption. No one accumulated
them, and the highest ambition of a more capable or success-
[439] ful man was to share his acquisitions with others. Trade with
the Chinese created the stimulus for accumulation. There
appeared new valuables which it was impossible to consume,
but which they began to value, which were profitable to
accumulate. There appeared rich men, fortunate possessors
of valuables, and others who did not have them and wished
to possess them. In rich men there was born a consciousness
of their wealth and their importance, and together with this
the ambition to become related to their equals. Among the
[583] poor people there arose the temptation to make the marrying
of their daughters a source of the acquisition of valuables.
The old form of the obligatory marriage, where the woman
was given without a bride price, became unprofitable, and
with the slightest loophole everyone /203/ tried to circumvent
[581] the old imperative. Finally, the phenomenon of the insti-
tution of wealth strengthened the institution of individual
000 marriage. The custom of brothers' living together with one

*174 /203 cont. / The custom of brothers' living together with one
177 wife became ever rarer. In the works of the epos, such
595 passages as "so many brothers were supporting one wife" are
[538] almost the usual thing. More than a hundred years ago,
Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described such facts as being
ordinary phenomena, while nowadays they are more and
more rarely encountered.

17 Such are the conditions which stood in the way of the
[615] inviolable existence of the phratry. But however powerful
these conditions appeared, the force of the primordial norms, having become religious imperatives, naturally preserved their power, and the new influences broke a trail for themselves, adapting themselves to the old norms by means of a whole series of correctives and fictions... How this occurred we shall see immediately.

VI.

The Dynamics of the Destructive Conditions

178
*614 Of all the conditions mentioned which are destructive
615 to the phratry (emigration, depopulation, wars, destruction
of economic equality, seasonal expeditions, the most powerful factor is the depopulation of clans, and besides, as we have said above, catastrophic depopulation which strikes the individual clans unequally. How must this factor have operated on the surviving clans? Let us recall the third table of our four-clan phratry. Let us suppose that clan A has died out or there are only a few persons left in it, and this is the clan from which clan C took women. We shall consider the first case, where clan A has died out without a trace. What happens then? What then is to be done by the orphaned clans C, which used to take wives from A, and B, which gave wives to clan A? Of course, first of all, the members of these clans will search for some solution within the phratry itself, in which only pure marriage is possible.

/203 cont./

178 But clan C may not take women from D, because the latter
*614 takes wives from it, and the mutual exchange of women
615 between two clans is not allowed in any case; on the same basis, clan B cannot give its women to clan D. There remains but one solution, that C take women from B. This solution, in addition, has all the signs of orthodoxy for both clans. First of all, these two clans formerly did not stand in a marriage relationship to each other. In addition, for C, after the disappearance of clan A, B is the closest on the mother's side (for /204/ clan A took women from this clan and supplied women to clan C), and, finally, clan B is the father-in-law of C, although of the second degree, so that, after A, it is its natural successor with respect to C. The sole obstacle to the lawfulness of this compromise is that clan C, due to the fact that it gives its women to D, is in turn, tujma akhmalk for clan B and thus does not have a right to take women from it. In a word, the matter ends with the phratry's becoming a three-clan one. The only solution is to increase the phratry by one more clan, a fifth one, E, which would give its women to D and take women from C. This new clan for the phratry may appear, as in North America, through the splitting of one of the old clans into two fictitious clans (in this case, C would divide itself into two halves, one of which would fill the role of clan E). We have no data on this either in contemporary practice or in legends. But there was no necessity for this. The process of depopulation struck all the other phratries at the same time. And it was easy to find a single clan, a remnant of a destroyed phratry, which in turn was seeking to unite with a phratry. That such a solution was the most practical is seen not only from the practice in contemporary life; it follows from the inevitable logic of facts. We started from the supposition that only one clan, A, died out, but again and again phratries can lose not one, but two or three clans, and then they were inevitably obliged to begin: either the co-optation of separate clans into the phratry, or the merging of different alien clans among themselves to form a new phratry.

/204 cont./

178 *614 615 In just this way, under exceptional conditions, it is true, the foundation of the marital-clan system was breached, but once it was breached in this way, it had to spread more and more and lead to the condition where marriages of different persons outside of the old phratry became, if not lawful, at least a completely acceptable phenomenon.

Now we shall consider the second case, where clan A does not die out completely, but has only become considerably thinned out in people. On account of the shortage of women in clan A, a part of the men of clan C were obliged to take their wives, as in the first case, from the closest lawful clan, namely, from B, but in the case where, as in the first instance, C does not have a right to give its women to D, and therefore to the phratry, in order to guarantee D women, a fifth clan, E, will have to be added, giving women to D and taking them from C. But, besides this, there is still another consequence, which confuses matters still more.

Since both the members of clan A and some of the members of clan C take /205/ women from clan B, then the first and second in each generation will be married to sisters, and, although they are members of different clans, they will be members of a group marriage with a group of sisters (1) and their children, as the terminology shows (see above), will be tuvn, i.e., brothers and sisters, and, consequently, forbidden for each other, so that in the following generation the women from clan A will not have the possibility of marrying into clan C and will be obliged every second generation to seek their husbands entirely outside their phratry, which still more destroys the strength and

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[601] 1. By a curious coincidence in this case the group husbands call each other navkh -- a term signifying the same thing as the famous term punalua, comrade, participator.

/205 cont./

178 unity of the latter. Life, it is true, has somewhat softened
*614 the rigor of the prohibition; in some clans at the present
615 time the prohibition covers only those members of clans who are actually married to sisters, but formerly, evidently, the prohibition embraced all the members of both clans; even in its weakened aspect, however, the prohibition leads unavoidably one way or another to some cases of marriage outside the phratry.

The case which we have just discussed is by no means hypothetical; it is repeated in its peculiar form in the daily life of the Gilyak at the present time. As an illustration of this, we may use the legal case which we introduced earlier, with the consequences that follow from the marriage of two persons of different clans to two sisters, where one man is from the akhmalk clan and the other from the ymgi:i clan. It is of interest to repeat here that in this case group marriage among several clans is no longer allowed, but the children of these marriages are considered tuvn and cannot marry each other.

Thus, the depopulation and the thinning out of the people of a clan leads to the following extremely important consequences: 1) allowing free marriage to a woman not from the clan of one's mother begins; 2) members of one and the same clan can be married to women of different clans; 3) a man and his "brother-in-law" /zyat'/ (navkh, brother of his brother's wife, i.e., brother of his own wife) may not be married to sisters; 4) finally, thanks to free marriages, the old four-clan phratry entirely loses its limits, for, as we shall see further on, to every clan into which even one member of the phratry has become related by marriage are extended those same rights and obligations which pertain to a clan of the phratry, and thus it is as though this new clan were adopted into the old phratry.

174 For a certain time, the "free" marriage was a more or
178 less /206/ exceptional phenomenon, called forth by condi-
*614 tions likewise of an exceptional character. In its way stood,
615 a huge obstacle -- the religious imperative which prohibited

174 /206 cont./
178 giving women to alien clans. The procuring of such women
*614 presented great difficulties. As a result of this long struggle
615 for the women of alien clans -- a struggle about which it will
[583] be necessary for us to speak in detail later, there appeared the
institution of the "bride price," payment for the bride -- an
institution which removed all obstacles to free marriage.

174 But once having appeared, the institution of the bride
178 price became, in turn, a powerful factor for the spreading
583 of the institution of the free marriage.

*614 The bride price became the most powerful temptation
615 for violating the old norms, even in cases where there was
no necessity for their being violated.

For poor people, daughters became capital, and the rich, who came into being with the establishment of trade relations, began to look on the free marriage union as a means of satisfying their ambition and of becoming related to people who were their equals in wealth and distinction.

*614 And nevertheless, notwithstanding all the unfavorable
615 circumstances, notwithstanding the intrusion of the new institution
178 of "free" marriage, the old norms continue to live
and to preserve their power over minds. In the great majority of cases the old imperative still is stronger than all
the temptations of bride price and of free marriage. In the
[583] eyes of the contemporary Gilyak, marriage from the akhmalk
[582] clan, from the mother's clan, is still the only "pure" marriage, and the most favored marriage for each individual man is marriage to the daughter of the mother's brother, in which case bride price is not only not required, but is not even allowed. Free marriages are rather sporadic phenomena, which destroy the customary norm for only a moment and then are spontaneously drawn into the ruts of the old norm. This comes about in different ways. In some cases a man may not marry for one or another reason from his mother's clan, but his offspring nevertheless again begin to take wives from the old clan of the ancestress. In other cases, if for some reason a return is not possible, then the alien clan from which the man takes his wife becomes the lawful marriage clan for his offspring, who in each generation

/206 cont./

*614 615 178 marry, according to the old norm, the daughter of the mother's brother. Finally, in some cases the descendants of this man take wives /207/ either from the old or from the new clan of the father-in-law, depending on circumstances, and both clans begin to be considered lawful clans. It may happen that not merely two, but many more of these lawful clans are accumulated in the course of time, both for the individual person and for the whole clan, but nevertheless each man as an individual strives to observe the old norm in arranging a marriage, seeking his wife above all from the clan of his mother, preferably always the daughter of the brother of this last.

Such is the power of the old norm. But its role is not limited to this. Compelled to make a retreat in one direction, it develops the strength of its age-old inertia with still greater intensity in other directions. Having out of necessity allowed marriages outside the phratry, having allowed the possibility for members of one clan to take wives from different clans, it has extended the whole system of regulations both to the free marriages and to all the clans which even sporadically enter into marriage relations with this or that clan.

*614 615 601 178 This amalgamation of the old institution with the new one and the extension to it of all the regulations of the old norms and prohibitions have made not only the kinship terminology, but also the character of the group marriage unusually complicated and confused. Under the old system, when marriages were arranged from one particular clan, the picture of the group marriage appeared entirely clear and simple: in each generation all the "brothers" of one clan participated in a group marriage with all the sisters of the same generation in the other clan. For this reason the wives of brothers called each other sisters, and the husbands of sisters called each other brothers, for both groups were such in reality.

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*614 With the appearance of the institution of free marriage,
615 the clansmen-brothers may be married to women from dif-
601 ferent clans, i.e., complete strangers to each other, and
178 nevertheless, by the old presumption, these women call each other sisters and become the group wives of their husbands-brothers. In exactly the same way, clanswomen-sisters may be married to men from different clans, and nevertheless these latter, although they are complete strangers to one another, will have group rights to their wives, and their offspring will call each other *tuvn* (German *Geschwister* /siblings/) and will not have the right to marry each other.

And, finally, we have seen that even "brothers-in-law" /*zyat'ya*/, i.e., persons of whom one is a member of a group marriage with the sister of another, may be married to sisters from a third clan. And in this case, although these persons have lost their rights of group marriage with /208/ respect to their sisters-wives, nevertheless all their children are considered *tuvn* and may not marry each other.

Furthermore, formerly, under the pure intraphratral marriage, the clan did not have the right to give women either to that clan from which it itself took women or to the clan from which this other clan took wives, i.e., to the clans of fathers-in-law of the first and second degrees of kinship. This, as we have seen, was an automatic consequence of the rule under which a clan was obligated to give women to one of the other three clans of the phratry, namely, to that clan into which was married the sister of the father of their ancestor, and accordingly the other two clans of fathers-in-law became *eo ipso* prohibited for women of the given clan. Now, when individual members of a clan may take wives even outside the clan of the mother, the designation of *akhmalk* of the first and second degree is extended to all the clans from which even one clansman has taken his wife. Thus there may be a situation in which, if five men from clan A marry freely with persons from five separate clans,

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* 614 615 601 178 then all these five clans and their five clans of akhmalk'i will be akhmalk'i to the whole of clan of A and will be prohibited for the women of A (only up to the third generation, it is true). But if we also add to these ten clans those two clans of original akhmalk'i of the first and second degree, then clan A will have 12 clans of akhmalk'i of the first and second degree to which it may not give its women. This tendency toward extension could lead to extreme difficulties in arranging a marriage, for with every new free marriage the number of clans which are available for marriage is reduced, but in practice the consequences of this extended regulation are allayed by the still firm tendency of the clan and of its separate members to depart from the old norm of taking wives from one particular clan, the clan of the mother, only in the most extreme cases.

This extended regulation introduced still greater confusion into the kinship terminology and into the norms of group marriage. Earlier, the classificatory system extended, in addition to the clan of the speaker, also to two other clans -- the clan of the fathers-in-law and the clan of the son-in-law /zyat'/, and the designations corresponded to the sexual relations. If, for example, I, a man, called the sisters of my fathers-in-law mothers, then this corresponded to reality, for the sisters of my "fathers-in-law" were group wives of my "fathers" and one of them was actually my mother. Or, if I, a man, called each "father-in-law" in that same clan of "fathers-in-law" the brother of my mother, and his daughter (the daughter of my mother's brother) my wife, then this corresponded to the actual kinship relations. Now that, due to /209/ occasional free marriages, the classificatory terminology has been extended to a whole set of clans which are completely alien to all the clansmen, the designations "fathers-in-law," "mothers," "daughters of the mother's brother," and so forth are extended to persons who are not such in actuality, and nevertheless in this new circle of persons all the old norms of group marriage between

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*614 615 601 178 corresponding persons are obligatory. And it is entirely natural that the number of persons drawn into the circle of classificatory kinship is ever larger, and the knowledge of this kinship, so simple before, becomes a real science, into which a person is initiated during childhood and in which he becomes proficient only when he reaches maturity. It is natural, therefore, that the classificatory system gives the European an impression of complete confusion and inexplicability. In reality, all the terms of kinship and the sexual norms which now appear so confused and illogical are explained quite simply -- the intrusion of the new practice of free marriage into the old staunchly persistent system of the old imperative, according to which marriage was a blood-kinship union and was obligatory from the clan of the mother.

VII.

The Phratry and Its Genesis

*614 615 We have seen how, owing to the primordial norms of marriage, the principle aim of which was to provide the progeny of an ancestor with wives from a group of persons in a distinct category of blood kinship, there automatically arose exogamous groups, clans. The essential significance of the clan consisted in the common right and obligation to supply its members with women outside of their own number, in other strictly defined groups-clans. Thus, in its basic function, each clan taken separately is by no means a self-sufficient organism. The existence of each clan is organically bound to the existence of at least two other clans related to the first by blood, one the clan of its ancestress, from which it takes its wives, the other the clan of the sisters of its ancestor, to which it is obliged to give its own women, and, furthermore, these two clans, as we have seen, may not coincide, since the exchange of women between two clans is not allowed.

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*614 For each individual member of the clan this is expressed in the fact that outside of the clan in which he himself was born and in which neither he nor his progeny may marry, he must have /210/ at least two other clans: one the clan of his mother's brother, from which he and his male offspring take wives, and the other -- the clan of his father's sister, into which his female offspring marry.

As we know from the kinship terminology, the next to last clan mentioned bears with respect to the first one the special designation of akhmalk k:khal (clan of the fathers-in-law), and the last one ymg:i (clan of the sons-in-law /zyat'ya/), and all together are called pandf (persons of common origin). Since all three of these clans are blood kin (a man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, and women marry the sons of their father's sister), in marriage relations each separate clan is in this fashion an organic member of a tripartite, blood-kin, three-clan union of pandf, a real cognate phratry, for in each generation all the husbands and wives are cognate male and female cousins. [114] The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with the Morgan one, for within it marriages are not only allowed, but are obligatory.

The Gilyak three-clan phratry may be presented in the form of the following schematic table: (see following page)

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Schematic Table No. 1 of the Three-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)
Ancestors: Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Ancestors: Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.	Ancestors: Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.
Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy of clan V. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna of clan S.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera from clan A.	Their children: 1) The sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey from clan A. 2) The daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Sof'ya from clan V.

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615 In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same rule: men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, women marry the sons of their father's sister.
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In such a form the phratry provided, matrimonially, for all the clans entering it, satisfying the basic norm of marriage, because in each of these clans a man marries the daughter /211/ of his mother's brother, and women marry into a third clan, the sons of their father's sister.

But such a marital organization of the phratry violates another norm of marriage, according to which it is prohibited to give women to the clan of the father-in-law of the second degree (tujma akhmalk). Applying this norm to our hypothetical phratry, we obtain the following:

Clan V gives women to A, which, in turn, gives them to S; consequently, V is the father-in-law of the second degree to S, and therefore this latter cannot give women to clan V, and, thus, the wife of Vasiliy cannot be the sister of Stepan. Thus, the men of clan V remain without wives, and the women of S -- without husbands. To remove this obstacle it is necessary that there be one clan in the phratry, a fourth, from which V would take women and to which clan S would give its women, and, thus, a four-clan phratry appeared on the scene.

The corresponding changes in the kinship relations of the four-clan phratry will be clear from Table No. 2. (see following page)

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Schematic Table No. 2 of the Four-clan Cognate Phratry.

Clan A (Andrey)	Clan V (Vasiliy)	Clan S (Stepan)	Clan D (Dem'yan)
Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:	Ancestors:
Andrey, Vera. Andrey -- brother of Anna, who is married into clan S. Vera -- sister of Vasiliy from clan V.	Vasiliy, Sof'ya. Vasiliy -- brother of Vera, who is married into clan A. Sof'ya -- sister of Dem'yan from clan D.	Stepan, Anna. Stepan -- brother of Mariya, who is married into clan D. Anna -- sister of Andrey from clan A.	Dem'yan, Mariya. Dem'yan -- brother of Sof'ya, who is married into clan V. Mariya -- sister of Stepan from clan S.
Their children:	Their children:	Their children:	Their children:
1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Vasiliy from clan V.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Dem'yan from clan D.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Andrey, from clan A.	1) Sons marry the daughters of the brother of their mother, of Stepan from clan S.

(cont.)

Table No. 2 (cont.)

2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Anna in clan S.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Vera in clan A.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sister of their father, of Mariya in clan D.	2) Daughters marry the sons of the sisters of their father, of Sof'ya in clan V.

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*614 615 In succeeding generations marriages proceed according to the same principle as in the foregoing generation: the men marry the daughters of their mother's brother, and the women marry the sons of their father's sister.

Analyzing this table, we see that:

1) In each clan every generation of men takes its wives from the /212/ clan from which their ancestress came, specifically, each individual man takes a wife from the clan of his mother, while the women of each clan marry, according to generation, into the clan into which their ancestress was married, specifically, each individual woman takes her husband from that clan in which her father's sister is married. Exchange of women between two clans is not permitted.

2) Clan A, therefore, takes its women from clan V (the clan from which the ancestress of A, Vera, was taken), but it cannot in return give its women to this clan, but gives them to clan S, where the sister of its ancestor, Anna, is married. It therefore remains for clan V to take its wives either from S or from D, but clan S is prohibited to it, because in relation to this clan it is tujma akhmalk, father-in-law of the second degree (see above); therefore it remains for clan V to take its wives only from clan D, from which was drawn the ancestress of clan V (Sof'ya). After that only the women from clan S and the men from clan D remain unaccounted for, and, as we saw from the table, the latter marry the former, and thus the entire phratry is provided for matrimonially, and all the marriage norms are observed.

3) In every conjugal pair, the husband is the son of the sister of the father of his wife, and, consequently, husband and wife are always cognate cousins.

[602] The interrelationships of the members of the various clans of the phratries are clear from the following analysis of the relationships between the ancestors. Let us begin with Andrey from clan A.

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Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Vasiliy and Vera, because the sister of the father of the latter was the mother of Andrey. In exactly the same way, Andrey is a cousin of the first degree of Stepan and Mariya, because the mother of the latter is the sister of the father of Andrey. Only in relation to Dem'yan and Sof'ya is Andrey a cousin of the second degree, for the clan of Dem'yan (D) takes its women from S, which, in turn, takes them from A; consequently the grandmother of Dem'yan was the sister of the grandfather of A, and thus Andrey and Dem'yan are cognate cousins of the second degree.

It is easy to see that the relationship of every other ancestor to the others is the same as that of Andrey, and similar relationships will exist in every generation between the representatives of the different clans, since the marriage norm in every case is the same. From this analysis it follows that: 1) in each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters to each other, or cousins, in a word, people of the same origin on the male and female side; 2) in clans united by marriage relationships, in each generation the husbands, on the one hand, and their wives, on the other, are cognate cousins of the first degree; 3) between clans not /213/ united by marriage relationships, i.e., clans which are tujma akhmalk to each other, for example, between clans A and D, both the husbands and wives are reciprocally cousins of the second degree, i.e., they are more distantly related than the marrying clans; thus remoteness of kinship beyond a certain degree, as in Australia, is an obstacle to marriage.

The relationship between the marrying ones may be defined in greater detail in the following manner: if "I" am a man, my father-in-law is the brother of my mother and a cousin of the first degree of my father, while my mother-in-law is a cousin of the second degree of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother. If "I" am a woman, my father-in-law is a cousin of the first degree of my father and a cousin of the second degree of

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* 614 615 602 my mother, while my mother-in-law is the sister of my father and a cousin of the first degree of my mother; that is to say, husband and wife are kin on both their fathers' and their mothers' sides. On the side of their fathers, on the one hand, and on the side of their mothers, on the other, they are alike cousins of the second degree; on the side of the father of the wife and of the mother of the husband, they are cousins of the first degree, while on the side of the father of the husband and of the mother of the wife, they are cousins of the third degree.

4) The kinship relations between the clans work out in the following way: a) clan A is the akhmalk (father-in-law in the first degree) of clan S; it is also the tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree) of clan D, and, finally, the ymg:i (son-in-law /zyat'/) of clan V (although at the same time it is formally the father-in-law of the third degree of the latter, because D is the father-in-law of V); b) clan V stands in exactly the same relationship toward clans A, S, and D, as does clan S toward clans D, V and A, and, finally, clan D toward clans V, A and S. All the clans stand in the relation of pandf (people of a common origin) to each other. From this relationship between the clans it follows that an ymg:i is the father-in-law of the third degree in relation to his genuine father-in-law, from which it appears, in turn, that a father-in-law of the third degree is a degree of kinship completely unnecessary for the regulation of marriage. And, in fact, it does not exist in the terminology, which has only two forms of kinship with the father-in-law: akhmalk (father-in-law of the first degree), and tujma akhmalk (father-in-law of the second degree).

5) From the above it follows that the tujma akhmalk assumes a reciprocal relationship: A is the tujma akhmalk of D, while D, in turn, is the tujma akhmalk of A, and since, as we know from the contemporary marriage rights of the Gilyak, women cannot be given to the tujma akhmalk

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*614 clan, in view of the reciprocity of the clans standing in the
615 tujma akhmalk relationship, no marriage relationships are
602 possible between them. As we have seen above, the obstacle is not the closeness /214/ of kinship, but, on the contrary, the distant degree of kinship in comparison with the relationship to the other clans of the phratry.

VIII.

Cousin Marriage

582 We have seen that the basic form of marriage among
*174 the Gilyak is marriage between the son of a sister and the
121 daughter of her brother. Thus, the type of the Gilyak marriage is a variety of the so-called cousin marriage.

How did this variety come about? This leads us necessarily to the general problem of kuzennogo braka (cousin marriage /given in Eng./) as an important stage in the evolution of marriage. I shall allow myself to dwell briefly on this problem.

582 As long ago as 1900, in my report to the Russian
*174 Geographical Society and in subsequent articles -- "Teoriia
121 rodovogo byta /Theory of Clan Life/" and "Endogamiia i
114 ekzogamiia /Endogamy and Exogamy/" -- starting from an analysis of the Gilyak form of marriage, I showed that cousin marriage is the primary form of exogamy and that it gave rise to the classificatory system of marriage, group marriage, and the institution of the clan. At that time I showed that the exogamous institution of the clan was not only an institution of prohibitions, but an institution whose main function was to provide a given kinship union with a constant reservoir of wives from a group of persons bound by a community of blood, which plays such an important role in the various stages of the community.

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582 *174 121 114 171 Works of recent times, in particular those of Rivers, Crawley, and Frazer, in connection with the work of their predecessors in the field of Australian and Dravidian marriage, such as Fison and Howitt, Spencer and Gillen, Kohler, and others, revealed not only the picture of the broad distribution of this form of marriage at the present time (1),

[113] 1. This picture entitled Crawley to say that "cousin marriage generally is the favorite form of marriage among primitive peoples" ("Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins," Anthropological Essays, Oxford, 1907, p. 57).

but on the basis of examples of Australian marriage they proved without a doubt that cousin marriage was the first experience of conscious restriction of marriages between brother and sister, and that all further evolution of marriage represented a series of gradual limitations on marriages between cousins of the first degree. 582 *174 114 121 One cardinal question in this problem still, one might say, remains open. This is the question of why /215/ cousin marriage demands marriage between the children of brother and sister, but at the same time prohibits marriage between the children of two brothers or between the children of two sisters. Only Rivers directly refuses to find an explanation for this striking fact. "Cousin marriage," he says, "is, according to all appearances, a survival. It is quite difficult to find a straightforward psychological basis explaining why marriage between the children of a brother and a sister is desired, while marriage between the children of two brothers or two sisters is so strictly prohibited" (1).

[113] 1. "Marriage /of/ Cousins in India," The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1907, p. 623.

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582 Others have attempted to give an explanation for this
*174 fact, but these explanations are purely mechanical. Kohler,
114 for example, sees an explanation of this fact in the dual
121 organization of society (2) -- an explanation which is at
least strange, for the dual organization itself is a consequence of the institution of cousin marriage. Crawley holds the same point of view as Kohler and therefore falls into the same error. He considers this form of cousin marriage to be "an automatic result of the fact that the name of the family is inherited. The children of brother and sister may marry because by their names they belong to opposite phratries" (3).

Frazer expresses himself in the same way. According to him, the reason that it is forbidden for these cousins of the first degree, i.e., children of two brothers or two sisters, to marry rests on the fact that they belong to one and the same exogamous class and are therefore restrained by the basic law which forbids a man to marry a woman from his own exogamous class.

The basic mistake of all these writers consists in their having taken the result for the cause, namely, that the so-called cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marriage between the children of brother and sister, was a result of the division of society into two exogamous classes, but they do not raise the question of just what it was that gave rise, in turn, to this dual division. In reality, the dual division into two exogamous classes was a result of the new institution of marriage between children of brother and sister, replacing the earlier endogamous blood marriage.

582 Before that, the group -- the descendants of one an-
*174 cestress -- was /216/ indivisible; marriages took place
121 within the group, usually between brother and sister. And

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2. Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe, 121.

3. Crawley, op. cit., 57.

/216 cont./

it was only when these marriages were recognized to be harmful and marriage between the children of brother and sister was established that the original, single society was divided into two exogamous halves: in one of these halves were the brothers with their wives and their descendants, and in the other were the sisters with their husbands and their descendants. Consequently, the dual division was a result of cross-cousin marriage, and one must therefore not seek the cause of the aforementioned regulation of this form of marriage in the dual division, but in something else. This cause must be sought in that situation under which the change from blood marriages to exogamous marriage in the form of cousin marriage took place. The study of the Australian classes first of all confirms the long disputed opinion of Morgan that exogamy is the result of realizing the harm of blood marriages, marriages between brothers and sisters. It shows also that the transfer to the exogamous forms took place with extreme gradualness and slowness, a fact that is easily explained by the usual conservatism of primitive man in general, and in particular with respect to such an institution as marriage, which is so closely bound up with religious ideas. This very psychology of conservatism, which at every change of the old institution tries to preserve at least the old form, in which it clothes the new institution, has resulted in the apparently paradoxical fact that the institution which, in the consciousness of the harmful effects of blood marriage, established marriages between cousins of the first degree allowed such marriages exclusively between the children of brothers and sisters and at the same time forbade such marriages between the children of two brothers and two sisters, although the latter are hardly distinguished in any way from the former in the blood sense.

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582 *174 121 How did this come about? The fact is that the cross-cousin marriage undoubtedly appeared to replace that stage where the preferred orthodox form of marriage was marriage between brother and sister. Under this form of marriage, not only were the spouses brothers and sisters, but also their parents. Thus, the formula of this marriage was expressed in the fact that marriages were effected between the children of brother and sister, and these latter were spouses in their turn.

This is why, when necessity forced the abandonment of this form of marriage and the replacing of it by cousin marriage, the conservative mind of primitive man chose that form which bore the closest outward resemblance to the old form sanctified by time /217/ and religion, namely, that one in which the only orthodox marriages were marriages between the children of brother and sister (although now these latter were no longer spouses), and not between the children of two brothers or two sisters. Thus the form, which always plays a paramount role in the eyes of the primitive man, was saved. In saving the form, primitive man naïvely imagined that the existence of a new change was thus concealed from the deity -- the usual manner of pious "deceit" of the gods.

In just this way brothers -- own and collateral -- and their descendants, on the one hand, and sisters and their descendants, on the other hand, formed the two exogamous halves of the former single society.

Another very important, although less cardinal question to which the investigators of cousin marriage give no answer is the following. If cousin marriage is explained as the first stage of exogamy, as the first measure thereof, then from where does its obligatory, its almost necessary character come? It would seem, on the contrary, that once the good of exogamy was recognized it would be most logical to encourage marriage between the least closely related persons, even between individuals who were entirely alien to each

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582 *174 121 other, while marriages between cousins should have been allowed for the first time only as a necessary evil, malum necessarium, in order that it might pass completely out of use as an antisocial institution.

582 171 *174 121 The evolution of marriage among the Australian peoples can serve as the best example of this strange fact. Among these peoples, judging from the organization of classes and from their personal declarations, the consciousness of the harm of marriage within close degrees of kinship is quite well developed, and they have manifested great resourcefulness in order to block the possibility of close marriages, excelling other peoples in this respect. Such a complicated system as the eight-class system of the Arunta tribe has been specially devised for the abolishment of marriages between cousins of the first degree. It would seem after this that marriages between the most remote degrees of relationship ought to be encouraged, while marriages between cousins of the second degree ought to be regarded as merely allowable. Among them, however, even "cousins of the third degree are thought too remote, and marriages beyond this degree are prohibited" (1). Thus, marriage with cousins even of an impossibly close degree is not only allowed, but obligatory.

Further, if cousin marriage is only the first stage of exogamy, /218/ then why, in spite of the enormous period of time which has passed since its inception, does it continue to survive so stubbornly up to the present time among a large number of tribes, including such numerous ones as the Dravidians, in its original, unaltered form. And even there, as among the tribes of Australia, it underwent limitation in the sense of the exclusion of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but still the principle, as we just saw, is preserved inviolate, and marriages beyond cousins of the third degree are not permitted. This stubborn invoking of

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1. Crawley, op. cit., 61.

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582 the principle, this persistent striving to perpetuate it by means
*174 of obligation, must rest on a serious basis. It seems to us
121 that the strength of the cousin marriage rests on two important
171 motives. The first motive is the natural striving of every
kinship group, in particular of each mother, to provide her
progeny with wives.

At the primitive stage of human development the element of struggle in sexual relations undoubtedly played just as tremendous a role as in the zoological kingdom in general. And one of the most important problems of human communities was to limit this struggle as far as possible, by one or another regulation.

The institution of marriage, obligatory between persons of a certain group, was that form of sexual regulation which was called upon to satisfy the above-mentioned fundamental dictate of the community. Prior to the establishment of exogamy, this dictate could be satisfied by the intrablood marriages obligatory between brothers and sisters. With the establishment of the principle of exogamy, cross-cousin marriage most satisfactorily solved this problem. From birth, the sons of a woman are the husbands of the daughters of her brother, and the sons of this latter are the husbands of her daughter. This combination satisfies to an equal degree the father of the family as well, because his children marry the children of his sister.

The other motive of cousin marriage is religious: with such marriages people not alien by blood, but rather of a common origin through the father and mother, come together at the domestic hearth, with its gods-ancestors. And both spouses may to an equal extent count on the favor of the common gods-ancestors. This is a feature of primary importance in the eyes of primitive man, for whom the blessing of the gods and the observance of religious rituals is an extremely important matter in life, one of the major means in the struggle for existence. That is why this form of marriage became not /219/ only favored, but religiously obligatory.

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582 That is why up to the present time among a large number of
*174 Dravidian tribes marriage is mandatory when a brother has a
171 daughter and his sister a son. That is why, as we saw among
121 the Australian tribes, with all the striving toward limiting
cousin marriage, marriages more remote than cousins of
the third degree are prohibited; consequently, marriages
between cousins of the second degree are obligatory. That
is why among the Mongols, whose favored marriages are
the marriages between persons alien to each other, marriages
between the children of a brother and sister are called "white
sin," i.e., considered acceptable, while marriages even
between the most remote members of one clan are "black
582 sin," i.e., completely unallowable. In order not to increase
*174 the examples, we shall end with the Gilyak, among whom,
121 in spite of all the peripeteia of this small tribe, only the
marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her
brother is considered "pure marriage."

After these preliminary observations, we may proceed to an examination of the question as to what place the Gilyak norm of marriage occupies in the history of the evolution of marriage in general.

Cousin marriage, as we saw, owes its origin to the realization of the harm of marriage between close blood kinsmen. We saw as well that, in accordance with a whole series of motives -- conservatism, religious ideas connected with the cult of ancestors, and, finally, the striving for the peaceful organization of marriage -- primitive man did not proceed immediately from blood marriage between brother and sister to remote degrees of kinship or to marriage between persons alien by blood. In the great revolution in blood-kinship marriage the most scrupulous gradualness was observed. Thus, as we saw, even now among the Australian peoples the first form of exogamy took the form of obligatory marriage between the children of brother and sister. Since these marriages proceed consistently from generation to generation, society, with such an arrangement, is divided into two halves, which mutually, by generations, give each other their women.

/219 cont./

582 When adapted to individual families, this arrangement is
* 174 expressed in the fact that the son of a brother marries the
121 daughter of his sister, and, conversely, the son of a sister marries the daughter of her brother. The spouses are cousins of the first degree, while the wife of each man is, on the one hand, the daughter of the sister of his father, and, on the other hand, the daughter of the brother of his mother, because the fathers of the spouses married each other's sister.

Such was the first stage of the limitation on marriages between persons close by blood. Further limitation occurred

[191] /220/ differently in different places. In Australia this limitation proceeded very early on the broadest course: from marriages between cousins of the first degree, they proceeded to marriages between cousins of the second degree, and the previous marriages between cousins of the first degree were prohibited.

Nothing in the social structure changed with this arrangement. Society remained divided as before into two halves which exchanged women, with the difference that a man married, not the daughter of the sister of his father, but the daughter of his cousin of the first degree, so that the progeny of a brother and sister could once again be joined in marriage only in the second generation. Spouses became further removed from one another by one generation, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. The principle of the exchange of women, which constituted the essence of cross-cousin marriage, was preserved inviolate, while the principle that marriage was obligatory between the children of a brother and sister was basically violated. It turned out to be impossible to preserve both principles in complete purity.

On analogous premises, the evolution proceeded differently among those peoples for whom marriage was built on the Gilyak principle. In the name of conservatism they considered it more important to preserve the second principle, sacrificing the first.

/220 cont./

582 *174 121 The peoples of this group, for which the Gilyak serve as the most striking representative, began to limit marriages between cousins of the first degree, considering it necessary to establish a more remote degree of kinship between spouses, but they did not wish to sacrifice that principle which seemed to them most important, namely, the one according to which each mother receives for her son the daughter of her brother. They actually preserved this principle, but, in order to satisfy the necessity of lessening the closeness of kinship between spouses, they sacrificed the other principle of cross-cousin marriage.

As we know, the son of a woman receives the daughter of her brother, but the reverse, i.e., the marriage of the son of a brother and the daughter of his sister, is not allowed. As a result the limitation on the closeness of kinship obtains -- spouses are cousins of the first degree only on one side -- the side of the mother of the husband, but not on the side of the mother of the wife, while previously, with cross-cousin marriage, they were cousins of the first degree both on the side of the mothers and on the side of the fathers of both spouses. But at the same time there is preserved here the old basic principle -- marriage to the daughter of the brother of the mother, and the spouses remained cousins of the first degree -- true, on one side only.

/221/ This departure from the peoples of the Australian type in the form of the limitation on marriage between cousins of the first degree brought about a fundamental change in the organization of society. It brought about the transition from a bipartite division of society with its classes to the organization of a pure clan, and in particular to the four-clan phratry that we saw among the Gilyak.

[171] With the Australian system of limitations on marriages within close degrees of kinship, no matter how far these limitations went (at the present time they do not go further than cousins of the second degree), society remains irrevocably divided from the standpoint of marriage into two exogamous

/221 cont./

582 groups, joined in the constant mutual exchange of women.
*174 In fact, each division is a real clan, because marriages are
121 prohibited within the division. True, along with these two
171 divisions a complex system of marriage classes is established,
but these latter change nothing, for no matter what class a man belongs to, he continues to remain in his division, while the classes do not change the position of the person in the clan, but are only mnemonic titles personally limiting a man (but not his offspring) in the choice of women of a particular degree of relationship: in the four-class system -- only cousins of the first degree; in the eight-class system, cousins of the second degree. In reality, classes are not even obligatory appurtenances for the Australian dual division. Among the Dieri tribe, for example, there exists the same prohibition with respect to marriages between cousins of the first degree as among the Arunta, but, while among the latter eight classes have been established as a mnemonic device, among the former this limitation has not been reflected in an extensive class division.

Thus it is clear that in the Australian system, by virtue of its having preserved the principle of the exchange of women, cross-cousin marriage demands only a division into two clans. The society is a two-clan phratry.

582 The Gilyak system was unable to remain in this two-
*174 clan phratry. From the moment when cross-cousin mar-
121 riages, i.e., exchange marriages between the children of
brother and sister, were prohibited, the two-clan phratry was insufficient: one clan took women from a second clan, but the latter was obliged to seek women for itself elsewhere, while, on the other hand, marriages outside of a given ethnic group were not allowed (as we see now in Australia). It remained to transform the two-clan phratry into a multiclan phratry.

/222/

582 *174 114 This type of one-sided cousin marriage, so simply explained in the light of the evolution of more ancient forms of cross-cousin marriage, has attracted no attention at all from the investigators. Many scientists have even regarded this institution with disbelief, considering it implausible. Thus, almost at the same time as my publication on this
[171] institution among the Gilyak (in 1901), the noted scientist Kohler in his article, "Das Recht der Hottentots /The Law of the Hottentot/" (1), ascertaining, in the words of his correspondent, the existence of just such an institution among that tribe, regards this report with distrust. The cause of this distrust is quite simple. Not knowing the genesis of this institution and the place occupied by it in the evolution of cousin marriage, and having no other examples of this institution besides its remnants in the marriage prohibitions, it was difficult to comprehend the cause of the one-sided prohibition by which the son of a sister can marry the daughter of a brother, but the daughter of a sister may not marry the son of her brother, although the degree of closeness of blood kinship in both cases is identical; and therefore the one-sidedness of the prohibition was viewed rather as an anomaly than as a normal sign of a living institution.

582 *174 171 [114] Due to such disbelief on the part of investigators, this institution is completely disregarded in treatises on human marriage and has remained completely misunderstood, while ethnographic literature gives quite a bit of information on its broad distribution among the most diverse peoples. Especially numerous traces of it are found in Indonesia and among the Dravidian peoples of India, among whom Morgan found the most clearly expressed form of the Turanian system, in which group marriage was preserved. As we just saw,

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[113] 1. In Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft, B. XVI, pp. 341-342.

/222 cont./

582 Kohler's correspondent reports on it from Africa among the
* 174 Hottentot. From Indonesia, such an authoritative investigator
171 as Wilken reports on it, writing: "Among the Batak, the Redjang (Rejangs) and the natives of Amboina, it is permissible for the son of a sister to marry the daughter of a brother, but the son of a brother may not marry the daughter of a sister" (2).

[113]

2. Wilken, *Bijdranjen* /Contributions/, Serie Y, V. I, p. 148.

The kinship terminology corresponds to this arrangement: among the Batak on Sumatra, for example, a wife or female sweetheart is called *ibibere-re-datang*, i.e., daughter of the mother's brother.

This institution was already recorded in still more definite form in the 1870's among the Dravidian tribes of India. Thus, for example, in the Song and Bygar tribes of the province of Satpûras in central India, marriage between cousins is compulsory when /223/ the brother has a daughter and the sister a son. Many data may be found in the most recent literature by Rivers (1).

[113]

1. "Marriage of cousins in India, Jour. Royal Asiat. Society, July, 1907, p. 626 *pass.*

/223 cont./

IX.

The Gilyak Kinship System and Morgan's Hypothesis

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*835 The Gilyak system of kinship and marriage fully confirms the basic hypothesis of L. Morgan that the terms of kinship are the result of corresponding sexual norms and norms of marriage. What for Morgan was only a deduction, we actually see to the fullest degree in Gilyak life. If a Gilyak calls a group of women by the term "wife," then those women are actually wives for him in the proper sense. If a Gilyak calls a certain group of men -- fathers, then these are actually persons who have sexual rights to his mother. If he calls the brother of his mother "father-in-law," then it is because, according to primordial law, he is actually obliged to marry the daughter of this uncle, who will then be his father-in-law. In the Gilyak system one finds the explanation of even such universal classificatory terms as elder and younger brother and elder and younger sister, which are very important, especially in marriage norms. First of all, these terms regulate individual marriage in the clan of the mother. [582] An elder brother is obliged to marry an elder sister, and a younger brother a younger sister. [587] These terms are important in the levirate, since a widow passes to a younger "tuvn." Finally, among half of the Gilyak, only the younger brothers have sexual rights to the wives of the elder brothers.

How clearly individualized this correspondence between a kinship term and the marriage rights is in the Gilyak terminology is seen especially clearly in the relations of the brothers to their wives. Among half of the Gilyak, as we have seen, all the brothers without exception have mutual rights to one another's wives. And among them the terms actually correspond to this: a man designates with the term "wife" all the wives of his brothers without exception, and therefore all the children of brothers without exception call

/223 cont./

601 these latter by the term "father." But among the other half
*835 of the Gilyak only the younger brothers have rights to the wives of the older brothers. And once again this is indicated in the terminology. I call the wife of my younger brother, with whom I do not have the right of intercourse, by the prohibitive term jokh, /224/ but I call the wife of an elder brother by the same term as I call my own wife; corresponding to this, the children of brothers call only the younger brothers of the father, as well as this latter, by the term ytk (father), but the father's older brothers -- atk.

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601
*835 The objections which have been raised against Morgan's hypothesis are in this sense objections of a purely abstract character. Thus, for example, the well-known objection repeated by all the opponents of Morgan with regard to the inexplicability of the class of mothers, since a person's mother, they say, is always well-known, is quite simply explained by the norms of sexual relations among the Gilyak. A Gilyak calls by the name of mother any woman with whom a person of the class of his fathers has the right to sexual relations. The degree to which the Gilyak realize the significance of this term is seen from the following. We have just seen that among that half of the Gilyak where only the younger brothers have the right to sexual intercourse with the wives of the elder, the children of brothers distinguish the elder brothers of their father from the younger brothers, and these latter they call by the term "father," but they do not distinguish the wives of the brothers of their father, calling them mothers. Why? For this reason. I call the wives of my father's younger brothers mothers because their husbands are my fathers (they have the right to sexual intercourse with my mother), and the wives of the older ones because my father has the right of sexual intercourse with them, and they are his wives.

/224 cont./

601 *835 A Gilyak also calls the sisters of his father-in-law mothers, but this is entirely correct, because, as we have seen, father and son take wives from the same clan; the father takes a man's sister, while the son takes a daughter of this latter, so that the sister of one's father-in-law is [114] really his mother. The objection of Kunov that the classificatory terms designate only age classes is likewise completely unfounded. In Gilyak life, age plays no part in the kinship terms. My class "father" can be younger than I, and nevertheless he cannot marry a woman of the class of my wives, but, on the other hand, is obliged to marry a woman from the class of wives of my actual father, and on attaining maturity he will in fact be a husband of my mother.

*174 *835 [114] The Gilyak system and the punalua family. In the light of the Gilyak system, not only is Morgan's general hypothesis concerning the origin of the classificatory system of kinship from the system of marriage confirmed and explained, but also his more particular hypothesis concerning the origin of the Turanian kinship system from the punalua family. The Gilyak kinship system is /225/ Turanian in its basic indications, while the marriage system presents a most complete form of the punalua family. In actuality, according to Morgan, the basis of the punalua family is "group marriage, either of several own /or/ collateral sisters with their spouses, where the common husbands were not necessarily kinsmen, or a group marriage of several own or collateral brothers with their wives, where these wives were likewise not necessarily kinswomen, although in both cases this was often encountered." The old Gilyak family with its obligatory marriage from one particular clan was a group marriage of all the brothers (own and collateral) with all the sisters of a particular generation, so that the groups of husbands were brothers, while their wives were always sisters. This is evident from the kinship terminology -- the wives of brothers [601] call each other sisters.

/225 cont./

*835 601 At the present time, when it is permitted to take wives from different clans, all the brothers (own and collateral) are still the group husbands of their wives, who often turn out to be sisters. And we have seen that even when sisters marry persons of different clans all the consequences of group-marriage are still preserved, and their children are considered brothers and sisters.

[114] The structure of the Gilyak family thus affords us the opportunity to establish the very genesis of the Hawaiian family, from which Morgan constructed the punalua family. This family originally did not consist of a group of several brothers who were married to their wives in a group marriage, or, on the other hand, of several sisters in a group marriage with their husbands, who might be non-kin to each other. Such a family could not have created the Turanian classificatory system of kinship, for it presupposes the possibility of several groups of brothers or sisters, each group participating completely independently in a group marriage in which the other groups did not share; consequently, common designations for all the brothers according to their marital relations could not have been formed.

*835 614 *174 The Gilyak family in its pure, original form gives us an actual picture of this family. The family is an intraclan organization. Therefore, each group-family represents a generation of all the brothers of a given clan (own and collateral) joined in a group marriage with a whole generation of women from another clan. These women are necessarily sisters, for the daughters of clansmen-brothers, as we have seen, are necessarily the wives of the sons of the sisters of their fathers. Now when, as we have seen, by virtue of
[178] /226/ the causes that we have mentioned, this marital obligation became weakened, and brothers began to take wives from different clans and women began to marry into different clans, sisters might turn out to be members of a group marriage with husbands who were not kin to each other, and brothers in the same kind of marriage with wives

/226 cont./

*835 who were not kin to each other, with this difference, that the
*174 collective of sisters, upon marrying into different clans,
614 178 would be broken up into several groups, as in the *punalua*
family, while the collective of brothers, always remaining
*835 in the clan, would be preserved in its entirety. And since
601 the Gilyak family is the most ideal form of the *punalua*
*174 family, it is natural that the Gilyak terminology be the
most complete form of the Turanian system. Actually, we
find in it classificatory groups that must have existed in the
Turanian as well, but which were lost with the loss of the
[114] system of marriage. For example, in that Turanian form
which Morgan once considered the most complete, namely,
the Tamil, the two extremely important classificatory terms --
"husband" and "wife" -- are not found.

*835 The Tamil system, according to Morgan, developed
601 under conditions where brothers had common wives, and
*174 sisters had common husbands. Correspondingly, in the
171 Tamil system a man calls by the name father, not only his
own father, but also all the brothers of his father, and he
calls not only his own mother, but also all her sisters his
mothers; in like fashion, he calls all the children of the
brothers of his father and of the sisters of his mother, brothers
and sisters. Corresponding to this, there must have also
existed a general term "wife," by which a man would
designate not only his own wife, but also her sisters and the
wives of his brothers, and likewise a general term "husband,"
by which each woman would designate both her own husband
and his brothers, and the husbands of her sisters.

114 In reality, these general terms do not exist either in the
601 Tamil or in the Iroquois systems. Thus, among the Tamil,
171 a man calls his wife *en mainavi*, the wife of his brother
enanni, *en maittuni*, the sister of his wife *en korlunti*, *en
maittuini*; there is the same lack of correspondence with the
term "husband" (1).

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1. See the table in Morgan.

/226 cont./

601 Among the Gilyak the terms "husband" and "wife" --
*835 pu and ańg:ej -- embrace all persons united by group mar-
114 riage, which thus still more confirms the truth of Morgan's
interpretation of the kinship terms.

114 /227/ Elucidation of several terms of the Turano-Ganowanian
601 system which appeared inexplicable to Morgan. In the light
171 of cousin marriage, several terms of kinship in the Turano-Ganowanian system become understandable to us. For example, Morgan was very confused by, and even regarded as inexplicable, why, among the Tamil, I, a man, call the children of my male cousins (considering as such the children of the sister of my father and of the brother of my mother without distinction) nephews and nieces, but I call the children of my female cousins sons and daughters. At the same time, among the Seneca-Iroquois exactly the reverse of this rule prevails. In his Consanguinity and Affinity he considers this fact inexplicable: "The discrimination of degrees of the cousin relationship," he says "is a remarkable fact in the Tamilian system. It is now found only in some systems of the Turanian family. From the structure and principles of the Turanian system, as I have already shown earlier with regard to the Ganowanian system, it follows inevitably that in its further development this relationship would be applied and restricted to the children of a brother and sister. It was probably unknown in the primitive system... It is the only particular in which it differs materially from the form of the family among the Seneca-Iroquois. In this respect, this last logically agrees more with the principles of the Turanian system than the Tamilian system. It is difficult to find any explanation for this difference" (1).

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1. Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, 1871 p. 391.

/227 cont./

114 601 171 Subsequently, in Ancient Society, Morgan found an explanation for this fact.

"This shows," he says, "that among the Tamil, at the time when the Turanian system was introduced, all my female cousins were my wives, while at the same time this did not apply to the wives of my male cousins" (2).

[113] 2. Morgan, Ancient Society, 1877, p. 444 (Russ. trans., Pervobytnoe obshchestvo, p. 427).

114 601 *174 171 *835 It did not even occur to Morgan that the whole Turanian system was based on this principle. This peculiarity, however, is precisely the result of the primitive system of cross-cousin marriage, from which the Turanian system also developed. Under cross-cousin marriage, marriage between the children of brother and sister is the only form of marriage, and such male and female cousins accordingly call themselves "husband" and "wife." That the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage is evident also from other terms, which /228/ must have been inexplicable to Morgan and which he does not even bring up, not having found an explanation for them. For example, among the Tamil, if "I" am a man, then the wife of my sister's son is my "daughter" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the husband of my sister's daughter is my "son" (as in the Australian cousin marriage); the husband of my father's sister's daughter is my "brother" (as in the Gilyak and Australian terminology); the father of my wife is my "father-in-law" and "uncle" (father-in-law and brother of the mother among the Gilyak, father-in-law and brother of the father or mother among the Australians); the mother of my wife is my "mother-in-law" and "aunt" (aunt and father's sister among the Gilyak, mother-in-law and father's sister or mother's sister among the Australians); my brother's wife is my "female cousin" (i.e., a daughter of my mother's brother or of my father's sister); and, finally, the "wife" of a son of my father's sister, and

/228 cont./
114 the wife of a son of my mother's brother, is my "sister"
171 (typical cross-marriage). A corresponding series of terms
*174 is met if "I" am a woman.

601 All this is without question evidence that the Turanian
*835 system was a system of cross-cousin marriage, although the examples introduced by us above (the Batak and the tribes of central India) are evidence that even in the homeland of this system cross-cousin marriage has already begun to change to the unilateral cousin marriage of the Gilyak type.

121 It now remains to explain from this point of view a con-
*174 tradictory (according to Morgan's opinion) fact in the
601 Ganowanian system, namely, that, in contradistinction to
*835 the Tamil system, if "I" am a man, then all the children of
615 my male cousins, that is, the children of my father's sister's
[171] son and the children of my mother's brother's son, are my
[114] "sons and daughters." We find the analogue of this in the Gilyak system. Let us recall the four-clan phratry and the case where clan V was short of women, and male cousins of the first clans A and V were obliged to take wives from the corresponding generation of clan S; under the norms of group marriage the children of these cousins are each other's "brothers" and "sisters" and, consequently, are children for both male cousins. The first step in this direction was the formation of that four-clan phratry which we have seen among the Gilyak. This happened quite simply, and we shall see that these four clans in an embryonic state exist also in the Australian system.

121 Let us imagine a society divided, like the Australian
*174 one, into two phratries, exchanging women in each genera-
*835 tion, so that the children of a sister marry the children of
615 her brother, and thus the wife of each man is the sister of the husband of his sister.

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*174 Let us further suppose for simplicity's sake that each
*835 phratry consists of one generation -- groups of brothers and
121 sisters, own and collateral, of different degrees of kinship.

615 We shall designate groups of male cousins of one division with capital letters, $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$, and their sisters with the corresponding small letters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4$. In the other phratry the corresponding designation for the brothers will be $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$, and for their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4$, where identical letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin kinship among different groups (adjacent groups will be cousins of the first degree, while the degree of kinship between other groups will be expressed by variations in their indices). Like indices of groups having different letters show that persons of these groups are cousins of the first degree both on their father's side and on their mother's side; A^1, and a^1 are cousins of the first degree to V^1, v^1; A^2, a^2 are also cousins of the first degree to V^2, v^2, etc. But in groups having different letters and different indices, the difference in the indices plus one will show the corresponding degree of cousin kinship: A^1, a^1 are cousins of the second degree to V^2, v^2; A^2, a^2 are cousins of the second degree to V^3, v^3, etc.

Since groups with different letters and identical indices are cousins of the first degree, and these groups are mutually obliged to marry each other, A^1 marries v^1 (the sister of V^1), while the latter marries a^1, the sister of A^1; likewise A^2 marries v^2, V^2 marries a^2, etc.

A general picture of marriage can thus be presented in the form of the following table:

Division I $(A^1 + v^1) + (A^2 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^3) + (A^4 + v^4)$ etc.
Division II $(V^1 + a^1) + (V^2 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^3) + (V^4 + a^4)$ etc.

/229 cont./

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×174
615
×835

The general composition of the phratry may be represented in the following table (see p. 230 /of the original text/).

/230/

I	II
Group of male cousins	Groups of male cousins
$A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 + A^5 + A^6 \ldots$	$V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 + V^5 + V^6 \ldots$
Their sisters:	
$a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 + a^5 + a^6 \ldots$	$v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 + v^5 + v^6 \ldots$

Since the groups $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4$ etc. and their sisters are related to one another in the same way as the members of the second group V^1, V^2, V^3, V^4 and their sisters, according to the norms of cross-cousin marriage, A^1 is married to v^1 (a sister of V^1), A^2 is married to v^2, A^3 to v^3, A^4 to v^4, etc., and, conversely, V^1 is married to a^1, V^2 to a^2, V^3 to a^3, V^4 to a^4, etc., in each generation.

Now let us imagine the moment when society first became aware of the harm of cross marriage between cousins of the first [171] degree. From the details of Australian marriage, we know that the first step in this direction was the prohibition of cross marriage between cousins of the first degree and the establishing of cross marriage between cousins of the second degree. As a consequence of this, A^1 no longer marries v^1, but rather his cousin of the second degree, v^2, just as V^1 must now marry a^2, etc.

Marriages under this new arrangement present the following appearance: Division I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc. /sic; see errata for original p. 230, line 18, on p. 739 of the foreign text/. Division II $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^2 + a^1) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^5 + a^6) + (V^6 + a^5)$ etc.

It is easy to see that under this arrangement each half of the society is in turn separated into two halves, into two matrimonially isolated groups, namely, the odd members of each division make up only one group, while the even members make up another, and in both divisions together four groups are formed.

/230 cont./

This four-group division is expressed in the following
121 form:
*174 Group I $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6)$ and other odd
615 members.
*835 Group II $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5)$ and other even
members.
Group III $(V^1 + a^2) + (V^3 + a^4) + (V^5 + a^6)$ and other odd
members.
Group IV $(V^2 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^3) + (V^6 + a^5)$ and other even
members.

121 The first group is nebrakopravomochna (inmarriageable
171 /given in English/) with IV, because in some cases, if the
*174 families become joined in wedlock in /231/ consecutive
615 order, for example $(A^1 + v^2)$ with $(V^2 + a^1)$, then the chil-
*835 dren of these families will be bilateral cousins, for their
fathers are mutually married to each other's sisters; in other cases, for example in families $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^4 + a^3)$, the children will be not cousins of the second degree, but cousins of the third or fourth degree, which is avoided by the Australian system. For the same reason groups II and III are unmarriageable, while groups I and III and groups II and IV are entirely marriageable in the consecutive order of the families. Thus, for example, in the families $(A^1 + v^2)$ from group I and $(V^1 + a^2)$ from III, as is seen from the indices, the father of the first family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the second family, and, conversely, the father of the second family is a cousin of the first degree of the mother of the first family; consequently, their children are second degree cousins on the side of both their fathers and their mothers, which is just what is necessary in Australian marriage.

But these groups in the Australian system could not develop into the present clan units, because each pair of marriageable groups remained marriageable for only one generation; consequently, the following generation, as the offspring of brother and sister, could not marry, being

/231 cont./

121 cross cousins of the first degree, and for this reason these
615 groups could not become fixed into hereditary unions and
*835 therefore formed only class generations, the whole practical
*174 significance of which was in the mnemonic fixation of the
[171] marriage norms.

The role of the four-group division developed quite differently with the Gilyak type of marriage. Here, too, the initial motive was the realization of the harm of marriages between cousins of the first degree, but while in the Australian system the question was resolved by means of a transition to marriages between cousins of the second degree and the absolute prohibition on marriages between cousins of the first degree, with the preservation, however, of the exchange marriage, in the Gilyak marriage the change of norms was limited merely to a prohibition on marriages between bilateral cousins of the first degree, i.e., marriages where the spouses are cousins of the first degree both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother. Here marriage remained obligatory between cousins of the first degree, but only if they were unilateral, i.e., either on the side of the father or on the side of the mother; through this, mutual marriages between two families became absolutely forbidden: under no condition could two men marry each others' sisters; consequently, marriage even between bilateral cousins of the second degree became impossible.

Now let us see how this regulation led to the Gilyak type of phratry.

121 /232/ Let us recall again the phratry with two divisions,
*174 with marriage between cousins of the first degree. In order
*835 to facilitate orientation, we repeat the previously intro-
615 duced diagram of the composition of each generation of
spouses according to degrees of kinship, with cross marriage
between cousins of the first degree.

/232 cont./

121 Division I: men $A^1 + A^2 + A^3 + A^4 \ldots$
*174 their sisters $a^1 + a^2 + a^3 + a^4 \ldots$
*835
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Division II: men $V^1 + V^2 + V^3 + V^4 \ldots$
their sisters $v^1 + v^2 + v^3 + v^4 \ldots$

The same letters with identical indices designate a group of own brothers and sisters, while different indices designate the degree of cousin relationship. Persons of different letter-groups with identical indices, for example, A^1, a^1 and V^1, and v^1, or A^2, a^2 and V^2, v^2, are bilateral cousins of the first degree, and they usually join in cross-marriage, i.e., A^1 marries v^1 and V^1 marries a^1. Persons of different letter-groups with different indices are cousins of more remote degrees according to the larger index.

And now let us imagine the moment when the transition from bilateral cousin marriage to unilateral marriage began, and when the exchange of sisters, that is, cross-cousin marriage, became prohibited.

This transition could not be completed all at once. Among individuals of both divisions there were no unilateral cousins at all, because these were all products of cross-cousin marriage. But since marriages between cousins of the first degree became absolutely prohibited, it would doubtless have become necessary for the first time to arrange marriages between cousins of the next closest degrees. The most [171] rational must be, as we have seen among the Australians, marriage between cousins of the second degree, but, in contrast to the Australian regime, where this form could be strictly put into practice in both divisions (1), here, as a consequence of the prohibition of the exchange of women, this form could be employed only in one division of society.

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1. See the above table on p. 338.

/232 cont./

121 In fact, if A^1 married his cousin of the second degree,
*174 v^2, then the brother of the latter, V^2, could not marry either
615 a^1 or a^2, because in such a case two men would be married
*835 to each others' sisters. Therefore, V^2 was obliged to take
a cousin of the third degree, a^3. The other cases are handled in exactly the same way.

/233/ Converting this rule into our schematic rows, we obtain the following table of marriage:

Division I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^2 + v^1) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^5 + v^6) + A^6 + v^5) + (A^7 + v^8) + (A^8 + v^7)$.

Division II: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^2 + a^4) + V^3 + a^1) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^8 + a^6)$ /see errata for original page 233, lines 5-6, on page 739 of the foreign text/.

In the following generation it already appears possible to fulfill the new principle of unilateral cousin marriage without an exchange of women, where each mother may marry her son to the daughter of her brother.

Analyzing the table we see that among the odd members of the first division, women have the same indices, respectively, as men have among the even members of the second division, i.e., in these two groups and in each pair of families of the same order, for example, $(A^1 + v^2)$ and $(V^2 + a^4)$, the woman of the first family is a sister to the man of the second, but the woman of the second family is not his sister, but his first cousin, the men of the first family are descendants of these families, and consequently they are unilateral cousins of the first degree. Thus, consistent with the Gilyak principle, according to which the son of the sister receives the daughter of her brother, the sons of the first family marry the children of the second. The reverse is not allowed.

/233 cont./

121 On the other hand, by comparing the odd members of the
*174 first division with the odd members of the second division,
615 we see that the men of the odd families of the first row and the
*835 women of the even families of the second row, for instance,
the members ($A^1 + v^2$) and ($V^2 + a^4$), have identical indices, i.e., they are brothers and sisters, and consequently the sons of the second row marry the daughters of the first row. One can easily see that the same relationship will obtain between the even members of the first division and the other two rows of the second division.

[171] Thus, as in Australian marriage, the society, matrimonially, is naturally broken up into four groups:

Division I: Group I: $(A^1 + v^2) + (A^3 + v^4) + (A^5 + v^6) + (A^7 + v^8)$ and other odd members.

Group II: $(A^2 + v^1) + (A^4 + v^3) + (A^6 + v^5) + (A^8 + v^7)$ and other odd members.

Division II: Group III: $(V^1 + a^3) + (V^3 + a^1) + (V^5 + a^7) + (V^7 + a^5)$ and other even members.

Group IV: $(V^2 + a^4) + (V^4 + a^2) + (V^6 + a^5) + (V^8 + a^6)$ and other even members.

The families of the first group take for their sons wives /234/ from the corresponding families of group IV, where the mothers of the first are the sisters of the fathers of the second, but the daughters of the first group enter the third group -- into families where their fathers' own sisters are. In exactly the same way the second group takes women from group IV and gives its women to group III. In a word, we have literally everything that we saw in the Gilyak marriage. Since exchange marriage between the two groups does not exist, and consequently in each following generation the descendants of the espoused clans will be unilateral cousins, marriages will without exception take place between the same groups and in the same order of families, so that, in contrast to the Australian groups, in this case these exogamous groups are converted into real clans. Thus we obtain the Gilyak four-clan phratry. In this phratry each clan is joined

/234 cont./

121 in marital relations with two other clans, but the fourth is
*174 absolutely forbidden to it, for it and this fourth one are a
615 subgroup of its own primitive exogamous division (groups I
*835 and II are prohibited to each other, and III and IV are likewise prohibited to each other). This prohibited clan is that Gilyak *tujma akhmalk k:khal*, the clan of the second degree, the prohibition of which is so incomprehensible. Now the reason is clear: the *tujma akhmalk* clans are prohibited because they primordially entered into one common exogamous division.

That this prohibited clan fully corresponds to the Gilyak may be easily ascertained from our table.

The first clan gives women to the third, and consequently it is its *akhmalk* of the first degree, but the third clan, in turn, gives women to the second, i.e., to the latter as well it is an *akhmalk* of the first degree. Thus, the first clan is *tujma akhmalk* of the second clan, i.e., of the clan which is in the same exogamous division with it.

Thus, I hope that we have succeeded in proving the close genetic tie between the Gilyak system and the Australian one from which it separated at that stage when the change toward the elimination of marriage between bilateral cousins of the first degree began.

One system solved the question by means of a shift to marriages between male cousins of the second degree and the final prohibition of marriages between the children of brother and sister in the first generation -- a prohibition fixed in the institution of classes, as among the Arunta. The other system prohibited exchange marriages, preserving obligatory unilateral marriages between the offspring of brother and sister, and fixed its norms in the institution of the four-clan phratry.

A still third variant is possible. Let us once again imagine the moment when it was decided to shift /235/ from the bilateral marriage of cousins of the first degree to the unilateral one, when it will be impossible to exchange women. Until that moment society was divided into two halves in the following manner:

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*174
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*835

/235 cont./

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5)+ (A^6 + v^6)$.

II. $(V^1 + a^1)+(V^2 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^3)+(V^4 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^5) +(V^6 + a^6)$.

Now it is necessary to shift to the unilateral marriage, for exchanging sisters is impossible, but now there are no unilateral cousins of the first degree, and only for the first time is it possible to observe the prohibition on the exchange of sisters; consequently, the son of A^1 may marry the daughter of V^1, but the son of V^1 may not marry the daughter of A^1; he may marry the daughter of A^2, his female cousin of the nearest degree, etc. Then the picture of marriage is the following:

I. $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^2 + v^2)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^5 + v^5) + (A^6 + v^6)$

1. $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^2 + a^1)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^4 + a^3)+(V^5 + a^6)+ (V^6 + a^5)$

I. 1) $(A^1 + v^1)+(A^3 + v^3)+(A^5 + v^5)$: 1st clan takes women from clan 3, that of the mother's brother.

2) $(A^2 + v^2)+(A^4 + v^4)+(A^6 + v^6)$: 2nd clan takes women from clan 4.

II. 3) $(V^1 + a^2)+(V^3 + a^4)+(V^5 + a^6)$: 3rd clan takes women from clan 2.

4) $(V^2 + a^1)+(V^4 + a^3)+ (V^6 + a^5)$: 4th clan takes women from clan 1.

/235 cont./

X.

Features of the Classificatory System Among Other Peoples of Northeast Asia

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As early as forty years ago L. Morgan in his Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity gave special attention to the question of the relationship between the Turanian and the Ganowanian kinship systems and after a long analysis, came to the definite conclusion that the relationship between these systems could occur only because of common blood, and that the present bearers of the Ganowanian system, i.e., the American peoples, brought it from their ancient homeland, from Asia. Morgan at that time was in a position to trace the Turanian system among the Dravidian peoples of India up to the southern boundaries of Central Asia. He was unable to get any information about the Mongol, the Tungus, or even the Turkic peoples. And it was all the more difficult for him to obtain any data about the peoples /236/ of the Amur region and the Pacific shore of northeast Asia. At the same time, it was the Amur River that he regarded as the point of departure for the crossing of the Turanian system from Asia to America, just as, with greater justification, he regarded the Columbia River as the point of departure for the spread of the Ganowanian system throughout the continent of North (114) America. Whatever we may think of Morgan's hypothesis, from this point of view, his conviction that definite traces of the Turanian system should be discovered from the banks of the Amur throughout the northeast of Asia, including the Aleutian Islands, is now beginning to be justified, in some cases in the kinship systems and in others in survivals of cousin marriage. It is particularly strengthened by the system of kinship and marriage discovered by me among the Gilyak. Morgan's great hypothesis, which has such a direct bearing on the problem of the interaction of the peoples of Asia and America, deserves our making at least a brief survey of the marriage norms among these peoples.

G /236 cont./

*174 601 So, let us begin with the Amur peoples. In the Amur region we find two basic ethnic groups -- Paleo-Asiatics, and the Gilyak and the Tungus nationalities and in part the Ainu, joining them from the side of the Japanese archipelago.

We do not have to talk about the Gilyak -- they not only have the Turanian system in its most complete form, but in addition they have preserved the ideal form of the punalua family, the analysis of which has shown us that the Turanian system is the result of cousin marriage.

A 101 174 601 835 The Ainu tribe, to which, as the neighbors of the Gilyak, we shall devote a special chapter, is excluded from our survey as a tribe that is both racially and linguistically unique among the circle of peoples of northeast Asia. It is equally unique in its family structure. They have a classificatory system, but it differs in many essential respects from the Gilyak and the Tungus. Equally radically different from these latter are their marriage norms and their social organization. Among the Ainu, for instance, marriages are allowed both between the children of brothers and between the children of sisters, and in this respect they resemble more closely the northern Paleo-Asiatics -- the Yukagir and the Chukchee. The features of group marriage in the form of the mutual rights of brothers to each other's wives have been found by me at only a few points, and only the levirate fully coincides with the Gilyak-Tungus. A [611] [614] The most important characteristic trait of the Ainu system, however, is the typically pronounced maternality and the absence of a clan structure -- a feature which also brings them closer to the northern Paleo-Asiatic group. In any case in /237/ view of the complete isolation of this tribe in all other respects from the group of nationalities in which we are interested, we note only their peculiarities, without engaging in any kind of comparison.

Gi /237 cont./
114 I shall proceed to the Tungus nationalities who are predominant
835 on the Amur and spread out to the north up to the
shores of the Bering Strait. The marriage norms of these
nationalities have been studied by me principally among the
most isolated tribe, namely, among the northern Orochi,
and I had an opportunity to compare and supplement this
information with the data collected among other peoples of
G the Amur region.

Gi
601 In spite of the fact that in their original mode of life
835 as nomadic hunters and reindeer-breeders these nationalities
171 differ considerably from the *Gilyak*, settled fishermen and
433 dog-breeders, nevertheless we find a great deal essentially
similar in their classificatory system and norms of marriage.
G. As among the Gilyak, the clan is based on paternity /paterniteta/.
Gi
614 In each generation of a given clan, the men and
601 women are elder and younger brothers and sisters. The chil-
835 dren of these classes are common sons and daughters and
brothers and sisters to one another. The clansmen-"brothers,"
own and collateral, live in a group marriage with their
wives, just as among the Gilyak of the eastern dialect, i.e.,
the younger with the wives of the elder. Here, as among
the Gilyak, they prefer to take wives from a single clan,
from which one may conclude that again, as among the
Gilyak, that marriage from a single clan was once obligatory.

Group marriage also exists with the wife's sisters who are
Gi married to members of another clan, but, by analogy with
601 the brothers' wives, among some tribes this marriage includes
835 only the younger sisters of the wife. In two respects group
G [601] marriage among the Tungus tribes is much broader than
[835] among the Gilyak. First of all, each man has a right not
only to the wives of his elder brothers, but also to the wives
of the younger brothers of his father, whom he therefore
calls by the same class term as his elder brothers, namely,
Gi [582] aki, a'ga. On the other hand, marriage to the daughters of
the younger sisters is allowed and thus that category of nieces
is drawn into the circle of the class of group wives. It is

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/237 cont./ It is easy to see that the first norm is a simple consequence of the second, since a daughter of a sister of one's father is one's cousin. In this last norm, the Tungus system resembles the Koryak one, where, according to the testimony of Iokhel'son /Jochelson/, marriage with a niece -- a daughter of one's sister -- is also permitted. In still another peculiarity the Tungus marriage brings to mind the Koryak one: both do not permit a person to marry /238/ his wife's sister while the wife is still alive. One peculiarity of the Tungus marriage is especially characteristic and testifies to the origin of this system from the earliest stage of cousin marriage. This peculiarity consists in the fact that the favorite form of marriage up to the present is the exchange of sisters with the wife's brother. Since, at the same time, the most preferred marriages are the marriages with clansmen, and, consequently, of fathers and children -- from one common clan, as a result the majority of marriages are typical cross-cousin marriages. Taking into account the fact that at the present time the Tungus marriage system is in a stage of the decay of its primitive forms, we have the right to conclude that in the past cross-cousin marriage was the only form of marriage, which gave birth to the classificatory system and to the features of group marriage.

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[191]

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In conclusion, it is interesting to note concerning the Tungus peoples that among some of them, for example, the southern Orochi, there is the institution of ceremonial brotherhood, as among the Chukchee, and that the "brothers" -- anda -- mutually enjoy the right to sexual intercourse with each other's wives. As among the Gilyak, marriages between the children of brothers, just as between the children of sisters, are prohibited.

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[835]

Y
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We proceed to the Paleo-Asiatic tribe of the Yukagir, which has been studied by Iokhel'son. Iokhel'son himself refrains from passing judgment on the place occupied by Yukagir marriage in the general evolution of this institution, but the data cited by him provide us with sufficient material to put the Yukagir system within the scope of the Morgan

/238 cont./

601 835 121 [113] hypothesis (1).

1. Jochelson, Jukagirs /The Yukagir/, 68.

601 835 If we study the Yukagir system only from the point of view of what it is at the present time, this system might indeed appear completely isolated, confused, and inexplicable to us. It has, for instance, a complicated classificatory system of kinship and a system of prohibitions, some of whose terms completely coincide with the Turano-Ganowanian system, while others are completely distinct from and contrary to that system; the term emyepol, for example, includes not only brothers and sisters, but also cousins of the first, second, and other degrees, both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother (1) /see footnote 1 above/

174 601 835 In addition, while some of the kinship terms and prohibitions on intercourse indicate, as we shall see in greater detail below, survivals of group marriage, and although relations between the sexes are very free here, nevertheless there is not only an absence of any real traces of group marriage at the present time, but some of the /239/ prohibitions, for example the prohibitions against marriages between cousins, seem to disprove any existence of group marriage even in the past. Upon a closer study of this system, however, we come to the conclusion that this is the Turano-Ganowanian system, merely distorted under the influence of [178] [161] [162] exceptional circumstances. The Yukagir are a tribe that is degenerating completely. At the present time they number less than 800 souls, at least half of whom are Yukagirized Tungus. Until the arrival of the Tungus in this area, it would appear that they lived in even greater isolation than they do now, and the process of degeneration went even faster. [178] [614] Under the influence of this process, there happened to them what is now happening among the Tungus of the Turukhansk

/239 cont./

601 region, namely, they had to resort to endogamy (marriages
835 within the clan), which they practice at the present time.
174 This endogamy -- a phenomenon of a relatively late character
178 -- had to confuse to the extreme the neat classificatory
614 system, traces of which have nevertheless been preserved up to the present time. This is most clearly indicated in the above-mentioned term emyepol. In the past, with exogamous marriage, this term undoubtedly meant brothers and sisters, own and collateral, i.e., brothers, sisters, and cousins either only on the father's side (if the clan was paternal) or on the mother's side (if the clan was maternal). With the transition to marriages within the clan, the cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side naturally became equally "brothers and sisters" and formed the present class of emyepol. The formation of this class had a remarkable consequence: it destroyed group marriage.

As we know, group marriage is practiced only among brothers-clansmen married to women from a different clan. When, however, with the introduction of endogamy, brothers-clansmen began to marry cousins from their own clan, the group marriage of all the brothers, own and collateral, became impossible, for in such a case the sexual intimacy of own brothers with their own sisters would be allowed.

Group marriage undoubtedly existed prior to the introduction of endogamy, however. The large number of terms of prohibitions and marriage norms mentioned above testifies to this.

174 Of the prohibitions against sexual intercourse we shall
601 indicate those which are clearly analogous to the Gilyak ones
835 between an elder brother and the wife of a younger brother,
170 or between an elder male cousin and the wife of a younger male cousin, prohibitions which, as we have seen, derive from the fact that the younger "brother" is joined /240/ in a group marriage with the wives of his elder brothers, which, conversely, is prohibited to these latter. Other prohibitions,

/240 cont./

174 such as the prohibition against the cohabitation of an elder
601 brother with the wife of the son of a younger brother, indi-
835 cate that among the Yukagir there was group marriage not
only among "brothers," but, as among the Tungus, among
certain categories of the ascending and descending genera-
174 tions. On the other hand, in the marriage norms we see
582 clear traces of cousin marriage. "The Yukagir assured me,"
835 says Iokhel'son, "that, according to their past customs,
marriages were prohibited only between generations of
cousins of the first degree" (1).

1. Jochelson, op. cit., 82.

Taking into account that even now among the Yukagir we observe a tendency toward marriages with blood kind (2)

2. Jochelson, op. cit., 86.

and that marriage between cousins is widely practiced, we must think that in the past this was the favored form of marriage. The only question to determine is: who were the cousins referred to in the old legend which we cited above.
[171] The present prohibition against intercourse and the duty of sexual reserve between persons of the emyepol class, which now includes cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side, could have taken form only at the time when the emyepol were members of an exogamous clan and clearly proves that in the past cousin marriage presupposed only marriages with cousins of a different clan or division, as among the Gilyak or the Australians, among whom (the latter), by the way, we encounter limitations between cousins of the first degree.

Yukagir RV3
Goldi RX3
Chukchee RY2

Y /240 cont./
174 There is yet another characteristic peculiarity. We have
835 mentioned that cousin marriage leads to the right to marriage,
[582] with the result that, with such a system, bride price, pay-
[583] ment for the bride, is forbidden.

Y The same thing is to be observed among the Yukagir.
[614] Finally, the existence of the clan among the Yukagir is also
a not unimportant indication of the fact that endogamy is a new
phenomenon here, for among purely endogamous tribes,
such as the Ainu, the genuine institution of the clan does
not exist. The clan is an exogamous institution by nature.

C
835 We proceed to that large group of northern Paleo-Asiatics
[121] which includes the Chukchee, the Koryak, and the Kamchadal.
Of this group, the Chukchee are the people who have been
studied in great detail, and we must consider them at greater
length.

C
835 According to Bogoraz' /Bogoras/ description, the
582 customary mode of marriage is with kinsmen and "most frequently between cousins," if possible from one and the same
family, and, if this is not possible, then between kinsmen
of the same encampment, i.e., cousins /241/ of more distant degrees; the marriage of uncles with nieces is prohibited -- a purely Turanian feature. Since at the same
time the exchange of women is practiced, we have here
a typical cross-cousin marriage -- again a typical Turanian
feature.

C Marriage between cousins was undoubtedly obligatory at
835 one time. This may be seen, by the way, from the fact
582 that, as among the Gilyak and the Tungus, among the
584 Chukchee marriages are concluded at an early age. This
Gi custom is even more in fashion among the Chukchee than
[582] among the Gilyak, since, according to the words of Bogoraz,
the majority of marriages are concluded in childhood, and
he even mentions cases where parents came to an agreement
C with regard to the marriage of their children even before
[583] their birth. The obligation to marry also explains the remarkable fact that the institution of the bride price is
C
583 unknown to the Chukchee. The usual method of acquiring

1: Shternberg--354 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak

Chukchee RY2

/241 cont./ The usual method of acquiring

583 [174] a wife is for a son-in-law /zyat'/ to join the household of the wife or to perform work in the household of the father-in-law, which is probably only a survival from the time when the groom always moved into the house of the wife. It is also remarkable that even in the case of the abduction of a woman, the only ransom is a woman, but under no circumstances a reindeer, which again indicates the ancient obligation of exchange marriage. In describing this custom, Bogoraz makes a very important remark, that "abduction was not regarded, however, as a cause for irreconcilable enmity and internecine wars. The parents would come later and demand the ransom, which is paid woman for woman" (1). Thus, initially cousins, and probably, as is

582 835 [171]

1. Bogoras, The Chukchee, 589.

still practiced now among the Aleut, such a marriage was obligatory. And since, according to the words of Bogoraz, individual marriages are concluded between cousins, the group husbands are therefore cousins married to cousins, and this is possible only if the husbands are either the children of brothers or the children of sisters (depending on the structure of the family), and the group wives are the children of brothers and sisters. "The children who were born into the families of the marital union are looked upon as cousins, even as brothers and sisters. They are not permitted to marry one another." For otherwise, if it be allowed that group husbands and group wives be any kind of cousins without regard to their origin, it might happen that an own sister might be found among one's group wives, i.e., precisely what forced the Yukagir to prohibit group marriages between cousins. At the present time /242/ own brothers and cousins of the first degree are excluded from the circle of group

[178] marriage. This, however, may be a limitation of later origin.

835 Among the Chukchee we find still another form: the group marriage of sisters with their husbands. Men married to

/242 cont./ Men married to

835 601 sisters call one another takălkin -- a term which corresponds to the Russian "suprug" (husband and wife), i.e., "harnessed in the same harness."

583 When marriage takes place between persons who are not cousins, abduction is mock abduction, *in fraudem legis*. Therefore, the abductor, according to the words of Bogoraz, afraid of pursuit and the forceful taking away of his wife, makes haste to join the abducted woman to the family cult, "rubbing her, if not with the blood of a sacrifice, then with the soot and ashes from the family hearth" (1).

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1. Bogoras, *op. cit.*, 602.

114 835 582 Bogoraz, whose studies provided us with the material for forming an opinion about the Chukchee marriage, using the term cousin in his work, does not, unfortunately, indicate, whether we should understand by this term all kinds of cousins or only the children of a brother and sister. We [171] may therefore allow that at the present time marriage is practiced with cousins on both the paternal and the maternal side, as among the Yukagir, and that this may be explained by the same reasons as among the Yukagir.

174 835 [171] That in the past cousin marriage presupposed only marriage between the children of a brother and sister is proved best of all by that form of group marriage which is practiced at the present time by the Chukchee, and which, in spite of its peculiarities, closely resembles the Gilyak form of this institution. This peculiar institution, having its expression in the agreement of several persons about mutual rights to one another's wives, may be concluded by non-kinsmen, but the "cousins of the second and the third degree almost invariably are bound by ties of a group marriage." Bogoraz [782] quite justly remarks that "in former times this form of group marriage was, to all appearances, a union between kinsmen, for now persons joining into such a marriage (evidently only strangers) make sacrifices" (2).

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2. *Ibid.*, 576.

Koryak RY4
Kamchadal RY3
Chukchee RY2

C /242 cont./
582 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same
171 as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic
835 group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the
K Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony
582 of Krasheninnikov in *Opisanie zemli Kamchatki* /A Descrip-
835 tion of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded,
unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the
KK Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong
582 influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to
835 a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it
C [835] was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus,
marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among
KK them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the ob-
587 ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been
perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the
sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate.
KK As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, wide-
[171] spread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin,
[614] Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of
[177] the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased
wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the
deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been
adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of
this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that
have been established between the spouses and by an un-
willingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family
hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted,
but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was
admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak
have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the
KK above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the
587 sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained
835 much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage.
With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female
cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male
cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

Koryak RY4
Chukchee RY2
Aleut NA6

KK /243 cont./

587 835 died, he took her younger sister or cousin. The institution was not only juridical, but religious, for the spouses were bound by the ties of common blood. Iokhel'son does not say whom the Koryak generally marry. C KK [582] Judging by the example of the Chukchee, among whom marriages are concluded predominantly between cousins, we may state with conviction that a Koryak also generally marries his cousin (i.e., a person of common blood, which is why the wedding ceremony has no ritualism), and therefore, after her death, he follows the same ancient law and takes her sister or cousin.

A 114 582 835 We shall now proceed to the Aleut, whom Morgan considered the intermediate link between the Asiatic and the American peoples. We do not have reliable information about their marriage norms, but what little we know is of great interest to us from the standpoint of the question we are studying, especially since those facts were related by an observer who spent a great many years among them, namely, by Veniaminov. A 582 First of all, it seems that the customary form of marriage among the Aleut was cousin marriage. /244/ Veniaminov does not relate the details, but definitely says that the most favored selection for a bride was the daughter of an uncle (1). A 595 [113] Of even greater interest is the description

1. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book III, p. 322.

of polyandry among the Aleut. "A woman," writes Veniaminov," was allowed to have two husbands, of whom one was the chief one, and the second his assistant, or, as he is called by the Russians, his partner. Such a woman was not only not considered degenerate, but was even praised as efficient. The second husband, fully enjoying the rights of a husband, had to produce and, in general, strive for the support of his wife and family, just like the 000 first husband (2). Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

2. Ibid., 323.

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Erman (3) relates the same, but he does not indicate either the kinship relations between the common husbands or their relationship in the case of the marriage of the second participant. But this in no way allows us to conclude that marriage among the Aleut is confined to the details related above.

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As we have already stated earlier, Mamio Rinso /Rinzô Mamiya/ described Gilyak marriage in the same terms as Veniaminov used to describe that of the Aleut, whereas we have seen that the Gilyak have the typical group marriage. The description of group marriage as given by Veniaminov and Rinso is quite natural for non-specialist observers, for with group marriage one is most easily struck by that case in which the second husband is not individually married himself, as it is described in Gilyak fairy tales: "two brothers maintained one wife." A non-specialist, however, generally leaves unnoticed group marriages which include several married men. One can therefore say with a great degree of assurance -- especially if one takes into consideration data about the preferred marriage to cousins -- that the polyandry of the Aleut that Veniaminov tells us about was in reality a form of group marriage. In confirmation of my hypothesis I shall permit myself to cite the following example from the life of the Toda, a tribe that lives in the Nilgiri Hills.

The old writer Marshall describes marriage among the Toda in the following way (4):

"If a husband has brothers or very close kinsmen who all live together, each one of them may, with the consent

3. A. Erman, "Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen /Ethnographic Observations/," Zeitschr. für Ethnologie, Vol. III, 1871, pp. 162-163, Berlin.

4. W.E. Marshall, A phrenologist among the Todas, London, 1873, p. 213.

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595 of the woman, share the right to be considered her husband."

835 /245/ According to this description, introduced in

114 Westermarck, Toda marriage is simple polyandry, as it is

171 generally described in Tibet, or as it is described by Veniaminov among the Aleut. Yet here is how the same marriage is described by the scientist observer, Short /Shortt/ (1).

1. John Short, An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," Transactions Ethn. Society, N.S., Vol. VII, p. 240, London, 1869.

Among the Toda, inhabitants of the Neilgherry Hills, a maiden, in marrying, becomes the wife of all the brothers of her husband at the same time, and they become the husbands of all her sisters at the same time. In this case the first child born is considered to belong to the eldest brother, the next one -- to the second brother.

In this description we have a typical group marriage, the ideal form of the punalua family. One must note that this description was made in 1869, eight years before the appearance of Morgan's Ancient Society and, simultaneously, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity, and consequently when an observer could not have had any tendentious notion about the punalua family.

These lines had already been written when I met Iokhel'son, who had just returned from his journey to the Aleut, and what he told me in this connection finally confirmed my hypothesis.

It seems that among the Aleut, as among the Tungus and among a part of the Gilyak, in the past the younger brothers were joined in a group marriage with the wives of their elder brothers, and at the present time this marriage has been preserved between cousins, not as an optional, but as a compulsory institution. Participation in a group marriage is the duty of all the cousins.

A 595 171 /245 cont./ The peculiarities of the Aleut marriage norms did not remain isolated on the Aleutian Islands. On the northwestern shore of the American continent, right up to the Columbia River itself, which was regarded by Morgan as the point of departure of the Ganowanian system, observers note them in terms almost analogous to those used by Veniaminov. We find them among the Eskimo tribe of the Koniag, the inhabitants of Kodiak Island, about whom Davydov writes: "Some women have two husbands each: the first is the actual husband, who selects the other one with the consent of the wife. This one at the same time becomes a servant, i.e., he carries firewood and does a number of other chores. He can sleep with the wife only in the absence of her actual husband, and upon his return he is deprived of this right. /246/ The Russians call such husbands partners" (1). This

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A G 595 171 description, which almost seems to have been copied This from Mamio Rinso and Veniaminov and travelers to Tibet, fails like the others to note the kinship relations between the spouses, but, on the other hand, there is the valuable report of the right of the second husband to exercise his marital rights only in the absence of the first husband, as among the Gilyak, and the obvious subservient position of this second husband. A G [592] [593] This subservient position is justly noted and strikes the eye also among the Gilyak, but it obtains, not by virtue of a marital agreement, but by virtue of the fact that the elder brother always plays the role of the head of the house and besides because brothers are forbidden to talk to one another, the relationship between the elder and the younger may create the impression of the relationship between master and worker.

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1. Davydov, Dvukratnoe puteshestvie v Ameriku ofitserov Khvostova i Davydova /Two Voyages to America by the Officers Khvostov and Davydov/, Part II, pp. 50-51.

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595 171 Among the Tlingit (the Kolosh) the institution is described in more definite terms by Veniaminov, who plainly says that "the second husband must always be either a brother or a very close kinsman" (2). Similar phenomena have been observed among the Central Eskimo by Ross. We shall not, however, deal with America, a country having the Ganowanian system, which is so close to the Turanian system. Our aim was to fill the hiatus which separates the native land of the Turanian system from the Ganowanian. After the survey we have made, we have the right to say that this hiatus has been filled.

2. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book 3, p. 619.

XI.

Sexual Life

157 224 831 433 The norms of group marriage, presenting the Gilyak with such wide freedom of sexual intercourse, are in themselves a propitious factor for the inordinate development of sexual sensualism. The ordinary mode of life of the Gilyak, in turn, could only aid in the extraordinary development of this factor. [226] The principal Gilyak occupation -- fishing -- leaves him too much leisure. On the other hand, the only pursuit which could provide a significant outlet for the emotional vital energy, namely, hunting, plays a comparatively insignificant role in the life of the Gilyak. The Gilyak does not undertake [221] distant hunting expeditions. The seasonal hunting for sables, squirrels, foxes, and deer, and even the sporadic excursions after the local, rather /247/ timid bear, do not present any special dangers; the sport of hunting, therefore, is very weakly developed.

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000 weakly developed. Among the Gilyak there are very few
152 such outstanding, passionately devoted hunters as are to be
224 found among the Tungus. Nor do the Gilyak, especially
152 during the past half-century, possess the heroic emotions of
72 war. Indeed, what the Gilyak called wars in ancient times
[614] were in fact nothing more than sporadic clan skirmishes
[578] motivated by vengeance or, even more frequently, were over
[463] women. The Gilyak have never known war as a profession,
as the favorite occupation of youth. It is natural that their
831 emotional energy should be principally directed toward
[152] sexuality. The Gilyak begin their sexual life with the onset
of puberty and devote all their leisure, all their thoughts, to
women, the more so since by far not every Gilyak, as we
836 shall see, finds it possible to marry. The bachelor youth is
not content with the women to whom they have rights in their
own settlement; they do not stop with the circle of women to
whom they have rights by law. The only category of women
before which the Gilyak halts is the class of women prohibited
484 to him. Neither length of time nor immensity of distance will
836 deter the Gilyak from his romantic adventures, if he can but
find his fill of feminine society. The young man sets off most
eagerly of all, of course, for the village of his "fathers-in-law" --akhmalk'i but he is not averse to undertaking a journey
even to completely alien villages. During the time of my
[122] travels, young men frequently voluntarily joined me, offering
me their assistance without compensation for many weeks,
and this was done in the hope of finding occasion for romantic
adventures, since this was not so very difficult. Owing to
836 the Gilyak's traditional hospitality and eagerness for any news,
574 the doors of every home are wide open to each new arrival.
Thus, the Gilyak feels at home everywhere. A few hours
[203] after his arrival in some settlement, he has already managed
to spend some time in every home, everywhere relate his
news, to which the men and women listen with equal avidity,
and has already managed to let his glance fall on some
woman who has caught his fancy. The rest is a matter of his
amatory experience and art.

/247 cont./

000 amatory experience and art. The Gilyak woman, it is true,
836 conducts herself in an extremely inaccessible manner. Upon
832 the appearance of a strange man, she lowers her eyes, sits all
[834] the time with her brows knit, and hardly answers the questions of the stranger. But this is only external inaccessibility, concealing an inner lasciviousness. Unnoticed by those about her, she /248/ casts oblique, curious glances at the new man at a time when he can catch them. And if the guest has made a proper impression, the matter is consummated very quickly. The man follows her to the well, or to the berry patch, or simply catches her in the entrance hall, and then, after a short symbolic dialogue, such as, "Let's smoke together a little (i.e., drawing in turn at the same pipe)," or "let's hear the news," the matter is settled very simply. Sometimes the guest simply remains in the yurt of his beloved and at night moves over to her couch, or vice versa. Sometimes the business is consummated without words, limiting itself to a mute symbolism, touching the breasts, seizing the leg, and if this symbolism does not encounter any rebuff, the consent of the woman is secured. It is curious that the symbolism of amatory proposals recalls the rites of the wedding ceremonies. The proposal to smoke together is a joking imitation of the rite of conferratio /confarreatio/.
[585] The snatching of the leg or the breast, although it does not
[171] figure at the present time in the wedding ceremonies of the Gilyak, is still to be found among certain peoples of North America, for example among the Lillooet Indians, according to the testimony of Boas and Teit.

836 Such license in alien villages is practiced not only by
837 the unmarried youth, but by the married, middle-aged
159 Gilyak as well. On one of my first trips there was among my companions an old respectable Gilyak, Gibel'ka, who enjoyed great fame throughout all of Sakhalin by reason of his wealth and outstanding intellect. When we stopped in the settlements, he spoke breathlessly on a par with his young companions about the pretty women of the settlement, and once he became so carried away that he began to ask my

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836 advice as to whether he should not "buy" a pretty woman who
837 had taken his fancy, although he had been married for a
159 long time and could not praise his wife enough. He did not, it is true, take part in the nightly adventures of his young companions, but only because the competition was already too great without that, since it very nearly went as far as revolvers among the young men.

839 By reason of the comparative accessibility of women, the use of force upon them is rare. I have, however, heard of instances where a group of youths, at the season when the women go for several days to places very distant from the villages after berries and *sarana*, made genuine raids upon the defenseless women, and, when the women have not yielded voluntarily, they have had no scruples about using force. Violence, however, principally amounts to /249/ tearing the cloth trousers which, as among the Chukchee and the Koryak, are made closed, without any openings. Such adventures, like all romantic pursuits in general outside one's own kinship circle of women, bear the characteristic designation *s'ankh nan'gynd* --
[196] "to hunt after women." This term, however, is also applied to searching for a bride, since it has two meanings: "to hunt" and "to seek something, somebody in general."

484 Special distant expeditions to alien settlements in search
83 of women, of course, are exclusively the affair of real
836 amateurs, so to speak, since in a distant village the new arrivals ordinarily encounter the fierce competition of the local youth, and the women already have their local admirers, not to speak of husbands, and special qualities are required to win an easy success on alien soil. I managed to meet such fortunate individuals: they are ordinarily good and worldly tellers of tales, jesters, and singers. There are, however, very few such outstanding lovers, even among the Gilyak, and there is a special term for them. Ordinarily the unmarried youth is either content with the women of his own village or pays visits to the settlements of his *akhmalk'i*, where, as we have seen, a most joyous reception always awaits him.

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It is difficult to depict in general terms the picture of the sexual morals among the Gilyak. First of all, one must differentiate between the married ones and the bachelors. The former, when at home in their own settlements, are more concerned with guarding their wives from alien intruders than with undertaking extramarital flirtations. Only when journeying or when visiting in other settlements do they avidly give free play to their sexual instincts. On the other hand, the married women are surrounded with so many temptations from their group husbands and strangers that they violate conjugal fidelity at every convenient opportunity, the more so since far from all marry for love or persons of their own age, and they eagerly make up for this with extramarital flirtations. From the Gilyak point of view on decorum, however, these flirtations do not represent anything abnormal, since for the most part they take place between group husbands and wives. One way or another, the palm of primacy, as concerns excesses among married people, must go to the women. "Among men," say the Gilyak, "you will find a good person 'one-one,' among the women you will not find a single one."

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Genuine excesses of licentiousness take place among the /250/ unmarried youth. Here are possible such extravagances as the instance I recounted above of the Gilyak woman, Pigunajka, who before her marriage was having affairs with 14 lovers at one time, including her future husband. Or another example, which I borrow from the Gilyak epos. The hero comes to the home of a certain oldster to seek his daughter in marriage. His future father-in-law says to him: "Thy wife lives over there in a little yurt. People used to come to see her, they all copulated with her, after that she lost her legs." And the bridegroom does not become upset at all. "All right," he says, "I'll go ahead and carry her off," apparently seeing nothing remarkable in this.

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831 192 Such instances must not be regarded as a general phenomenon, however. Along with the factor of heightened sexuality and sexual freedom, other, restraining factors are also acting. Among the married women, such factors are maternity, economic cares, and, finally, among both married and unmarried women, such feelings as love and bashfulness. In general, however, sexual dissoluteness plays no small role in the life of the Gilyak, not only in an economic, but in a psychological sense as well. Ordinarily the Lovelaces either do not maintain households at all or, if they do, maintain their economies very carelessly. Both [626] in life and in poetry one constantly comes across sharp reproaches and the reviling of the youth by the older people for laziness at work in connection with licentiousness. And [842] furthermore the Gilyak themselves attribute childless marriages 831 158 to dissoluteness. But the saddest of all is the influence of dissoluteness on the psychics. A whole series of nervous disorders specific for the Gilyak, such as myarechenie among both men and women, and diseases connected with the full loss of psychic composure (self-control /given in English/) are the result of dissoluteness, which furthermore, among women, is accompanied by serious transgressions in the realm of the sexual sphere, and the latter, in turn, lead to the appearance of hysteria.

831 192 Side by side with the wide sexuality and sexual freedom described above, the feeling of love still plays a great role in the life of the Gilyak. The most extensively used term for love, eś-mund, denotes both sexual love and love in general, for children, friends, etc. There is a special term for reciprocal love -- oś'mund; for marriage for love, oś'mur:kir, vavynd. There are also some other terms for love, for example, hyvnd and others, but there are no special terms for "beloved" /male/, "beloved" /female/, although /251/ one can say es'mula nig:yvyn, i.e., "man whom they love," but in the language of lovers the beloved designate each other either by the terms "husband" and "wife," or by

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831 words signifying "my man, my woman," -- n'az'mych,
[192] n'an'kh. The Gilyak themselves consider love a normal stage
of life which everyone must experience in his youth. This
view is very well conveyed in a song which I noted down
on the Amur, in which a girl, complaining of her mother's
nagging about her passion, sings:

[539] Mother, mother, dear mother,
Has thou forgotten thine own youth?

(Literally: "Thou hast forgotten thine own past time,
let me be!")

831 Parents, however, never reproach their children for their
882 amorous passions. When the youth do hear the grumbling of
593 their elders, it is most often due to purely economic considerations, since during the period of passion the young people
neglect their work and become careless and inaccurate. In
general it is not even permissible to react in any way to the
sexual passion of the children, maidens included. If the
[684] father or brother finds out about the fornication of his daughter
or sister, he not only may not use force against the seducer,
but it is even forbidden to summon him to a duel, and he
may not even be angry with the daughter. They treat the
amorous passions of the children as a perfectly natural
phenomenon. The mother in particular is often even the
confidante of the amorous secrets of her children. In many
[533] songs which I noted down on the Amur, sons constantly
address their mother, sharing with her their amorous sufferings, seeking advice as to where and how to find their beloved.
Serious remonstrances by the parents, active remonstrances
[835] going to the point of pitilessness, are encountered only in
[762] the case of love for a person of a forbidden category. In
such cases, the parents themselves urge their daughter to
584 commit suicide. Often the pitilessness of the parents, mainly
593 of the father, becomes manifest when love frustrates an
advantageous marriage, one which has been agreed on since

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584 593 childhood, and they forcibly give the girl in marriage to an unloved man. But these are exceptional cases

831 In its content, love among the Gilyak does not differ in any way from love in civilized society. Coarse sexuality is completely lacking in it. In the love of this primitive people we find the whole scale of universal feeling, from the tenderest tones of poetic sentimentality and tranquil lover's sorrow to the stormiest outbursts of heroic passion, which neither halts before any obstacle /252/ nor shrinks before a manly resolution to part with one's life.

831 533 These psychics of the Gilyak are very well reflected in love songs, especially in the songs of women.

Nature endowed the Gilyak woman with a depth and delicacy of feeling which she is able to express in touching images and forms. "Night and day do I think of thee... As on my own mother do I gaze...If thou leavest me, only of thee shall I think, where thou didst walk, there shall I walk. From the well whence we both did drink, thy dark shadow shall I drink. As of many trees the tallest one doth most greatly please, so of all men art thou most beautiful and best. O, take me with thee, I would be the wallet and flint that hang from thy belt. I shall be the bottom of thy boat, with thee would I be. My left tear flows and falls like rain, the calf of my right leg fails me, it has become immovable, wholly dry have I become, my legs do not move" -- with such expressions, taken at random from various Gilyak songs, a woman expresses her love. But it is noteworthy that the same sentimental notes sound in the songs of the men, and the references to left and right tears pattering like rain, to the knee, the same grief over separation, the same sweet dreams of reunion, are just as frequent. One finds such emotional expressions as "I have loved thee wholly, all of thee"... Only rarely does clumsy vulgar (from our point of view) crudity creep in, for example, "Of a fat thigh the joint (the calves) spins(twitches), that is how I like it." But never any cynicism.

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831 The importance of the role of love in the life of the
533 Gilyak may be judged by the wealth of song material. Not
every Gilyak can relate a story or poem, but everyone
knows love songs. Songs play a quite exceptional role in
Gilyak love. The song is the language of lovers. At their
assignations lovers sing improvised songs to each other in
place of conversation, and, if they find it impossible to
meet, they send each other songs, composed ad hoc, through
a third person. Special terms have even been made up for
such songs.

831 An idea of the intensity of love among the Gilyak may
584 be gained from the reaction of lovers in cases where their
593 love encounters insuperable obstacles. In such cases the
762 solution is suicide. Obstacles in the Gilyak environment
are of a twofold nature. Most frequently the obstacle is
presented by the parents, who, either from mercenary
motives or from an unwillingness to violate /253/ the child-
hood agreement of betrothal, force a marriage, or when a
831 woman is violently carried away. In such cases suicides
58 frequently take place quite a long time after the involuntary
593 marriage. In such cases the woman first of all seeks to save
762 herself from the unloved man by flight and, in the event
of failure, ends with suicide. I remember one such charac-
teristic instance. A girl from the village of Nyanivo was
given in marriage against her will. Soon she ran away from
her husband to her father, who handed her over to her lover,
tempted by the idea of getting a second bride price from him.
Her first husband would not reconcile himself to this and
utilized a favorable moment to take her back by force.
Within half a year the unfortunate woman hanged herself.
[847] There have been instances where a woman, fleeing from
her unloved husband, has slain the children that she had
831 by him. Men prefer to defend their rights to love by action.
58 Ordinarily they seek to carry the woman away by force with
159 the aid of clansmen, but they will not stop at slaying the
[682] husband of their beloved. I noted one very outstanding

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831 instance of such amorous heroism in the village of Nyanivo.
58 The most respected and wealthiest man of the local clan at
159 this time was a Gilyak by the name of Nyugun. At one time
his beloved was forcibly given in marriage to another man.
He slew his competitor, after which he was arrested and
taken to Nikolaevsk. In the meantime the brother of the
widow again gave her in marriage against her will to another
man. Breaking out of prison, Nyugun immediately set off
for the settlement of his beloved. Going up to her yurt, he
stripped everything off himself, except the short pants of
modesty, and naked, despite the winter season, he rushed
in this state into the yurt, which was overflowing with people,
and by his appearance struck such fear into those present
that he was able without hindrance to take his beloved by
the hand and take her to his home, after which he lived with
her tranquilly for many years (his late wife had time to sew
for him four fox-fur coats and four fur coats out of sable tails).

835 The most tragic obstacle in love is the position of lovers
762 in the forbidden degrees of kinship. Here there is no solution.
831 The parents themselves insist on suicide. Ordinarily
533 in such cases the lovers go to the forest and hang themselves
side by side on two trees. Before taking their lives,
they sing songs to each other, singing of their journey to the
world beyond the grave, where no one shall hinder their love.
Some of these songs have come down to us in the following
way. It has happened that one of the parties, namely, the
man, breaks loose and after this loses the desire to repeat
the attempt. It is he who preserves for posterity /254/ his
835 dying song. One of these tragic cases of illicit love has
762 become a popular legend. The time was a hundred years ago.
831 A certain maiden became attached to a younger brother of
533 her father. Shortly after this, her sweetheart set out on a
538 long trading trip to Manchuria. At the same time, she
began to show signs of pregnancy; it was no longer possible
to conceal the fact, and she took her own life by hanging.
When her sweetheart returned, he burned on her grave all

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831 762 533 538 [539] the goods that he had brought back, released his bear, which he was fattening up for a feast, from its cage, and hanged himself. The song which the unhappy girl sang at the moment of parting has been preserved. We present it in its entirety in the section on lyrics. Here we quote only the first lines: "Take me with thee, the board of the bottom of thy bark will I become... Now one must think only about Mlyvo (1).

1. The world beyond the grave.

That you may remember me, keep the earrings hung up on the wall."

832 [825] The Gilyak employ magic means against unrequited love. One of these means is the dried-up brain of the cuckoo, which they mix with tobacco and offer to the girl to smoke. Or they surreptitiously sew the feather of a cuckoo to her dress. But there are also other means that are not so harmless and lead to tragic consequences.

As they relate, one who has tasted these potions, these drugs, falls into a deep melancholy and, after a few days, dies. I knew two persons, somewhat Russified, who used to sell such drugs for a high price, and several women died of them.

832 584 Among the Gilyak, as in our country, there are timid individuals who cannot bring themselves to make a declaration of love in person. In such cases the intermediaries are old women, who, for this, must be given "tea" -- a present. Sometimes they send some present through these intermediaries, ordinarily cloth, in which they tie several knots, corresponding to the number of days until the admirer will pay his visit.

832 There remains to be discussed only what the stimuli of love are for the Gilyak, what individual traits comprise the attraction of the beloved. First of all, of course, there is the aesthetic side -- beauty, especially facial beauty. The word "beautiful" in the Gilyak language is expressed by the term poch urland, literally -- "of a good face."

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832 It is noteworthy that they do not evaluate beauty only
826 from their own racial viewpoint. Men and women both
609 liked /255/ Russian women. Of male Europeans, the Gilyak
women even liked types unfamiliar to them, such as redheads or blonds. Thus, for example, my friend Bronislaw Pilsudski, reddish-blond, enjoyed great admiration among the Gilyak, not only because of his sympathetic attitude toward them, but in particular on account of his attractice appearance. They referred to him only as poch urakhră -- "handsome man," literally -- "beautiful in face," and when he left Sakhalin, the Gilyak women as a farewell present dictated to him songs of declarations of love.

832 In their love songs they sing not only about beauty, but
826 also about "white skin, like the bark of a birch tree,"
533 luxuriant hair (a braid reaching to the waist, hair made sleek),
gracefulness of gait ("with her head inclined to the side, smiling she walks," "with a six-foot stride he walks"), physical strength or size (his trunk is an arm-spread, "his legs go into the ground up to the shin").

832 Of course, elegance in clothing also plays no minor
291 role in the aesthetic appreciation of one's sweetheart. In
533 their love songs they sing about women's clothing embroidered
with finery, about a great number of copper rattles sewn on, and so forth; they sing about men's black dog-skin fur coats, shirts made out of variegated sealskins, rich headbands of fine squirrel skins, etc. Women's summer clothing that is black in color is considered the most beautiful; men play the dandy in shirts that are sewed half of red and half of white or dark blue material. But along with outward beauty, moral qualities are also valued.

832 Women like in men the traits of manliness and reliability
577 ("thy voice is like the voice of an urdla n'iv̆ukh'a, i.e., re-
spected man"), or the talents of a conversationalist -- jester,
singer, Aside from outer beauty, men admire in women the
[867] traits of femininity, which Gilyak women possess to a great
degree both by nature and also due to early training; from

/255 cont./
832 childhood a little girl is taught to speak with a soft melodic
577 quality and to give her face a dreamy coquettish appearance.
867 A woman not infrequently succeeds through her talent for
832 singing. In their songs the women are capable, not only of
533 expressing their love with great delicacy, but also of ridiculing
626 unwanted suitors most maliciously. In her sarcasm the
woman does not stop at any hyperbole. In one song the nose
of the undesired one is compared to open patches of water in
a frozen surface, to an open door, and his clothing, his dogs,
his harness, etc. are described in similar tones.

839 /256/ Sexual Abnormalities and Perversions. I asked the
Gilyak many times if such sexual perversions as pederasty
and bestiality were practiced among them. No one, ap-
parently, had ever heard of any cases of pederasty. As for
[158] bestiality, only in one village on the Tym' was I told, and
then with disgust, of one psychically sick Gilyak who had
839 copulated with a dog. The attitude of the Gilyak to these
539 perversions is made clear by the following legend, which I
wrote down on the Amur. The tiger, the panther, and even
the lion (?) were once men. Once, by chance, the god Kur
saw that they were copulating through the rear orifice. Then
in indignation he said: "Well, since you copulate like
beasts, henceforth be ye beasts forever." Thus, in the view
of the Gilyak, the above-mentioned perversions are acts which
make a man like a beast.

143 The Gilyak have an extremely simple attitude toward
826 hermaphrodites (miskund in the eastern dialect, miskij --
in the western dialect), in whose peculiarities they apparently
see a plain anomaly, but feel no abhorrence for them and
[588] are glad to have sexual intercourse with them. Marriages of
hermaphrodites are a common event.

/256 cont./

143 In view of the fact that in ethnographic literature sexual
826 intercourse and marriages of hermaphrodites are often confused with homosexuality, I shall cite very characteristic instances of hermaphroditism from the life of the Gilyak known to me. On Sakhalin I know of two cases. In the settlement of Yama, near Aleksandrovsk, there lived an old Gilyak, Chubuk, who was known as a hermaphrodite, since up to a certain age he considered himself a woman (the membrum virile was underdeveloped) and wore woman's clothing. Later the membrum virile attained the proper development, and he began to wear men's clothing and finally married.
143 I learned of another instance in the settlement of Myy Gyrk
826 on the western shore in the far north of Sakhalin. Here I once
588 met two young people sitting on the shore, a man and a woman, who appeared to be spouses. I immediately noticed that the latter very much resembled a man in the face. My companions explained that only a year ago she had been wearing men's clothing, considered herself a man, and was very friendly with her present husband. Once they went fishing together. They had to spend the night together, and then the hermaphrodite revealed her secret to her friend. From that time on they began to live together and ended up by getting married, although people strongly urged the young man against
[538] /257/ taking this step. Similar cases may easily have given
[754] rise to the legends about transformed persons (about werewolves).

On the Amur the Gilyak Putuk told me the curious details concerning his hermaphrodite friend. The latter had been a girl up to a certain age. Suddenly he began to notice that he was developing a membrum virile, which would sometimes grow larger, sometimes diminish, and sometimes disappear completely. He communicated this to his lover, who came to him at night and was convinced of the truth of his words and on the next day told everyone about it. In the course of several years a beard grew and the male organ was definitely developed, although his vagina was also fully developed, and he could have intercourse with men. After

/257 cont./

143 that he began to wear men's clothing, got married, and now
826 is the foremost hunter of the vicinity. Normally he lives
588 with his wife, but sometimes copulates with men. He considers the latter more pleasurable and speaks of himself with pleasure: "I have two chances, two joys." All treat him as an urdla n'ivukh. In all I was able to count five such cases among the Gilyak, the number that Bogoraz found among the Chukchee.

881 The Gilyak have no special rites at the time of attaining sexual maturity. The only outward sign for a maiden
[302] who has attained sexual maturity is that she begins to plait her hair in two braids. The moment of the onset of sexual maturity for a maiden is considered the menstrual period, which ordinarily begins in the thirteenth or fourteenth year.
881 This moment is considered the beginning of marriageable
826 age, although the proper term for a woman who has attained sexual maturity is the expression -- "a woman who has seen her body," i.e., whose breasts have grown to the point where she can see them.. A similar term exists for men -- "a man who
[302] has seen his body," but in this case the word "body" refers to the mustache.

881 Some time before the onset of menstruation the mother
867 prepares her daughter for the approaching change in her life and instructs her in all the necessary rites and taboos con-
881 nected with blood. The Gilyak, both men and women,
585 fully recognize the significance of menstruation as the mark
833 of sexual maturity and do not have sexual intercourse before its onset. Adult Gilyak frequently marry little girls and from the first day sleep with them under one covering, but do not begin sexual intercourse until the wife informs her husband of the onset of the first menstruation.

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XII.

Methods of Obtaining a Wife

584 538 Data from the epos. It is first of interest to reconstruct the picture of the acquisition of a wife in the old days according to the data from the popular epos. Judging from these data, especially from the so-called n′aśtund (poems), the acquisition of a wife in the old days was not at all an easy matter (1).

[192] 1. That the procuring of a wife was not a simple matter is shown by the very expression for this undertaking, an′g:ej ñanygind, in which the verb nanygind is a technical term for the hunting of a beast, usually accompanied by difficulties in the search and all sorts of dangers.

On the contrary, one of the chief exploits of the heroes is the search for a wife. In order to find his wife, the hero of a Gilyak poem must undertake the most distant and hazardous journeys to the end of the world; he must sail over stormy seas, even ascend to heaven or descend to the kingdom of the underworld or the bottom of the sea, not to speak of all sorts of heroic duels with whole clans of the most fearsome foes -- duels encountered in the course of these peregrinations.

Why is it so, why must the hero, a strong man, of necessity seek his wife far away, when he has every opportunity to find a wife nearby?

First of all, we shall note that the aforementioned term an′g:ej nanygind, "to seek a wife," may lead one to think that the ordinary mode of securing a wife for the heroes was force, abduction. True, this, too, was done by them, but most frequently they obtained their wives in the most peaceful manner, without even paying anything. This is

/*258 cont.*/

584 evident from the very expression *an'g:ej nanygind*, where to
538 denote wife the word *an'g:ej* is used -- the term used for the category of women with respect to whom the Gilyak has the right and obligation of marriage. And in fact everything indicates that the object of the hero's searchings is precisely the lawful wife who belongs to him by right of birth. Everywhere that the hero appears with his demands he is addressed by the term *ymg:i* -- son-in-law /*zyat'*/, and the women to whom he makes claim are designated *an'g:ej*, but when they refer to some other possible candidate, alien to him, they do not call her *an'g:ej*, but *sankh*. Here is a characteristic example. The hero of one poem (2) /*259*/ was rejected by his

2. L. Shternberg, *Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora* /Materials on the Study of Gilyak Language and Folklore/, 1908, p. 118.

lawful *an'g:ej*, who declared that if she had to marry him she would kill herself. Then the father says: "Son-in-law! Once the maiden does not want thee, what can you do? Go and seek another woman (*s:ankh*, and not *an'g:ej*)." After this he went to another place. In one yurt he found an old woman. She said: "Son (mothers-in-law frequently give this name to their sons-in-law), why hast thou come? Hast thou come in search of a wife? Thy *wives* are yonder (on the hill) in that pile yurt, there are thy wives, go" (1). The plural is used

1. L. Shternberg, *op. cit.*, 118.

here because these were two sisters, and both, in accordance with Gilyak law, belonged to him. True, it may seem strange that the heroes of the poems must seek their lawful wife with such tremendous exertions; it would seem, on the contrary, that this would be extremely easy, because commonly there are very many women of this category, their

/259 cont./

584 538 residence is known to every interested individual, and customarily one can find them in the nearest settlement. But such is the fate of heroes; marvellous adventures always fall to their lot. Commonly they are isolated people, whose kin have suffered some catastrophe. The nearest clans of their fathers-in-law may have become extinct through an epidemic or a famine, while the surviving branches may have emigrated lo[illegible] long ago to some distant place and lost all ties with those left behind -- under such circumstances it is not strange that the hero must wander in all directions in order, like the hunter, to make his way to the desired goal through visible traces, inquiries, and guesses.

Finally, it also may be that the desired an'g:ej, whom the hero at last reaches, is betrothed to a stranger, and all the imposing strength and renown of the hero are necessary to compel the father-in-law to violate his word, given to another, which threatens him either with war with the clan of the offended bridegroom, or, at best, with a trial and the payment of a large ransom. And the hero himself must later endure a whole series of such wars for a wife obtained in this manner. Here is a typical example of this kind from one n'as'tund. The hero, appearing at the home of the woman who is to be his wife, hears the following answer from the father of this woman in response to his claim: "She is betrothed -- n'ig:yvyn jokhta' (technical term for a girl betrothed to a stranger). One clan of the mountain people and still other clans will come to make war on thee." Our Gilyak said: "Nevertheless I shall go ahead and carry her off." The old man replied: "Thou wilt only come back tomorrow." On the following day, after the customary communal /260/
[583] feast, he not only let his daughter go without receiving anything for her, but even ordered two boats to be loaded full of valuables as a dowry for her, which is only possible when the woman is the lawful bride of a man by right of birth.

/260 cont./

538 584 585 [177] It is characteristic that in purely Gilyak poems, not having any traces of Goldi-Manchurian borrowings and influences, we do not encounter any procedure of betrothal, which at the present time plays such an important role. All is reduced to a laconic dialogue: Groom: "I have come to take my wife." Father: "All right, take her!" After this everything is done unusually simply. The marriage is immediately consummated. The only ceremony, about which I shall speak in detail later on, is the confarreatio, the joint smoking or meal.

The old man, the father of the bride, questions the hero: "Thou art a man from where?" Our Gilyak: "I am a dweller of the village in the middle of the bay, I have come to take thy daughter in marriage." Then this old man said: "My child, this guest has come to take thee, go with him." This woman said: "Very well, I shall go with him." This old man said: "Ho, slaves! Prepare a meal, feed the guest", .. Our Gilyak ate with his wife. Having eaten, having finished, he set out with his wife" (1). Another example even better

1. Shternberg, op. cit., 47.

depicts this simplicity of ritual. "That old man (the father of the bride) said: 'Eat with your husband.' Then that woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, came in, made the bed, got in under one blanket, lay down, and slept." On the following day the hero departed with his wife and the dowry (2).

2. Ibid., 81.

583 538 But along with such lawful marriages there are also described cases of the forcible carrying off of women. And this is quite natural, for such misfortune may overtake the hero that the clans of his lawful fathers-in-law may become extinct, and willy-nilly he must obtain a wife by force.

/260 cont./

583 Such catastrophes, as we shall see further on, are not at all
538 rare. This alternative which, according to the epos, faced the man of olden times -- either to marry his lawful an'g:ej, who belonged to him by right of birth, or to obtain a wife by force, while at the same time there is almost no mention of betrothal to an alien woman as a special form of marriage -- proves that obtaining a woman by purchase was a later institution, established as a corrective of the custom of abduction with /261/ all its bloody consequences, just as ransom was a corrective of blood revenge.

Thus are the methods of obtaining wives depicted for us in the traditional epos.

582 Contemporary methods of obtaining a wife. Up to the pres-
584 ent the Gilyak has preferred the old orthodox mode of marrying a woman of the an'g:ej category, a woman who is regarded as one's wife by right of birth. Only such a marriage is considered "pure." And people who are staunchly for the laws of antiquity try to observe the old law. Of all the categories of an'g:ej the most desirable marriage is with the daughter of the mother's brother, in other words, the most orthodox is considered the cousin marriage between the daughter of a brother and the son of his sister. Such a marriage is so highly valued that even before the future spouses appear in the world the sister and the brother give each other their word to unite the children in marriage. After the birth of the children, when they have reached the age of three or four, there takes place in the presence of the clansmen of one side or the other a formal act of agreement
[593] or even the actual concluding of the marriage. Even the
[602] mother of the groom may carry on the negotiations, not with the father of the bride (for she is his sister and conversation between brother and sister is prohibited) but with
584 his wife. The whole procedure of agreement amounts to
585 this: the matchmaker /svat/ (father or mother of the groom) before everyone ties each arm and each leg of the fiancés with threads of nettle and dog hair and, in addition, gives

/261 cont./

584 the parents of the bride a male dog, not, however, a female.
585 It is not permitted to remove the fillet, since it is considered
[601] testimony of betrothal. From this moment on the children are considered husband and wife, and they address each other with these terms. Usually in such cases the young wife moves to the house of her young husband, sleeps with him in the same bed, passes her childhood years with him, and upon attainment of sexual maturity begins marital life.

58
182 This haste to conclude a marriage between children is explained by many reasons, but the basic reason amounts to a timely strengthening of the right to marriage. In a few years another such lawful claimant may be born or grow up, the son of another sister or female first cousin. Furthermore, in the course of time the economic situation of both sides may change. The father of the bride may become needy and be seduced by a bride price from the outside. There are cases, of course, where the cousins becoming betrothed are of different ages; the bridegroom, the son of the sister, may be a grown lad, while the daughter of the brother /262/ is just an infant, but the procedure is exactly the same. A Gilyak
585 of my acquaintance, Pletun, a lad of about 20, married in
[582] this fashion his five-year-old cousin, the daughter of Iksus, took her into his house at once, commenced to sleep with her, and began actual cohabitation with her when she reported her first menstruation to him. But it also happens
[675] that a child-wife remains in the home of her parents and moves to her husband's house at the first appearance of menstruation, but no formalities are required for this move; the initial agreement is considered a public act, known to all. "All Sakhalin knows of this," a Gilyak of my acquaintance, who had betrothed his little daughter to the son of his sister,
585 said to me with great pathos. In such marriages not only is
583 bride price not due, but there is not even any question of it. There is merely an exchange of gifts, but even this is not at
[178] all obligatory. Such is the simple arrangement in cases of
[184] betrothal of the children of male and female first cousins,

/262 cont./

583 although in such cases in several places on Sakhalin there is
585 already some question of bride price, though, to be sure, a
178 very insignificant one.
184

XIII.

Marriage Terms and Survivals of Maternality

195 The terms used in the Gilyak language for designating
196 the act of getting married are quite characteristic in a
58 sociological sense.

Like Old Aryan and contemporary Russian, the Gilyak language has no common term for both sexes, such as the English "to marry," French se marier, German "heiraten"; on the contrary, in the Gilyak language, in this case, there is a special term for the individuals of each sex.

When a man is involved, the verb gend, khgend (root ge) with the addition of shankh (woman) or an'g:ej (wife) is used; thus, shankh gend, an'g:ej gend. When a woman is involved, an entirely different verb is used -- avind (root av), with the corresponding addition of nigyvyn: -- person, or pu -- husband, or, if without the addition, simply javind (1) (je -- him + avind).

[197] 1. I choose the term of the eastern
[184] dialect; the terms are the same
in the other dialects, with the usual
dialectal peculiarities.

What is the basic meaning of each of these individual terms g:end and javind?

/263/ As concerns the first, the male term gend, its basic meaning is entirely clear. This is one of the most frequently used verbs in the Gilyak language, signifying "to take something" and "to buy." With regard to marriage,

/263 cont./

195 therefore, the meaning of it is this, that 1) a man takes a
196 woman into his possession as his lawful wife; 2) he buys his
58 wife by means of a payment of bride price; and 3) in both
cases in the sense of the Roman term -- *uxorem ducere*, i.e., the abducting of a woman into his house, as is usually practiced at the present time.

At first glance the origin of the feminine term *javind*, which in this form is only a *marriage* term for designating a woman's getting married, is not as clear. Its original meaning, however, is not difficult to make out from forms which are etymologically close to it. First of all we have the form closest to it, the reflexive verb *p'àvind* = *pi* + *avind*, signifying -- "to support oneself," "to nourish oneself," and, finally, "to live," in the economic sense. Here is a characteristic example: *n'ig:yvyn' n'enyn' pyr:k pavrà* -- "a Gilyak himself alone (i.e., singly) lived" (in the economic sense). If several persons are concerned, this verb takes the meaning of "to live together," i.e., to nourish themselves conjointly, to have a common economy. From this comes the adverb *p'avind* -- together. Further, we have the derivative form of the active voice *àjvund* -- to support someone at one's own expense, to take someone as one's charge, to adopt, to nourish -- in the form of the middle voice it signifies to nourish oneself, to graze (*jaivun ekhan* -- a grazing cow). Finally, *javind*, *javend* means also "to warm" someone (with fire), to shelter.

Thus, the term *javind*, used by women with respect to a man and at the present time signifying to get married, must originally have meant literally "to take a man at one's own expense," "to receive into one's house." If this
[174] etymology is true, which one could hardly doubt, then it
[591] follows from this that originally among the Gilyak the system
[171] of maternality /*materniteta*/ prevailed, as it does at the
present time among their neighbors, the Ainu, where the husband as a common rule moved into the house of his wife, just as the masculine term *g:end* -- "to take for oneself" -- bears witness to the contemporary form of paternity

196 /263 cont./
195 /paterniteta/, with the wife moving into the house of her
58 husband. At the present time the original meaning has disap-
[171] peared from the consciousness of the people to such a degree
[174] that often for the expression "to get married" there is added
[591] to the verb javind the verb vind, avin vind, which would
mean literally -- "go take a man and support him," but this
is an obvious contradictio in adjecto, for it signifies moving
into the husband's house and, /264/ consequently, being
196 supported by him. A linguistic remnant of the old form of
58 marriage is shown in the fact that in the old language, as
far as the texts indicate, all the terms of joint marital life are expressed by means of forms derived from javind. The reflexive verb v'avind means -- to live in marriage with someone, the joint marrying of two persons, or, for example, ytk menakh vavin kuil itynd, i.e., "father ordered us to get married," literally, "father ordered us to support each other." Further, the active verb ajvund is used in the sense of to be married, to have a wife, for example, menyn ruvn an'g:ej n'enyn' ajvutà -- "two brothers lived in marriage with one wife," literally -- "they supported one wife," etc.

178 In contemporary life there are likewise preserved several
606 remnants of the former maternality. Eloquent testimony
591 of this is found in the contemporary formula of common
174 marriage law of which we spoke earlier, namely -- ymg:i
602 arinkh jag:n'idra -- "one must feed the son-in-law," although,
according to the general rule, the son-in-law takes his wife to his home and lives apart from the father-in-law.

[171] Clearly, such a formula could only arise in a system
where the son-in-law either moved into the wife's house for good, or, as among the Ainu of today, he regularly came to live at her house for a certain length of time, and it goes without saying that the wife's family was obligated to feed the son-in-law on the same bases as those on which at the present time the husband's family is obligated to feed his wife.

602 /264 cont./

606 This formula has preserved its vital significance even
591 today. One is supposed to send regularly to the son-in-law
[431] gifts of edibles and a share of every catch. Moreover, the
[574] young men of the category ymg:i during the course of several months out of the year are unfailing guests in the settlement of their fathers-in-law and are indispensable participants in the more important hunting expeditions.

606 In particular, this relation is clearly attested to at the
225 time of distant sea excursions for the hunting of sea animals.
602 The master of the boat -- he is the head of the expedition -- in such cases especially summons his ymg:i to take part in the hunt (1).

[171] 1. We find an analogous phenomenon among the Haida Indians, a purely maternal tribe. Here, so reports Swanton (Haida, p. 69), when a man undertakes a military campaign, he calls together his tribesmen who are his potential or actual sons-in-law.

[431] All this time the ymg:i are not only fed for nothing, but when they leave they carry away with them an equal share
606 of the catch and various /265/ gifts besides. One's relations
602 with these young men are often much more tender than with
[591] one's own children. And this is entirely understandable, for a man's ymg:i are the sons of his sisters or daughters, his tribesmen, who under a maternal system must live with him, while his own sons and grandsons will move to the settlement of their wives and will be completely estranged from him.

602 This obligation for the "nourishment" of the tribesmen
604 through the female line, however, is a customary institution
171 in maternality. Among several peoples, as, for example, among the Polynesians, the right of tribesmen to the property of their uncle on the mother's side has taken on completely improbable forms, where a tribesman has the right to ravish with impunity the possessions of his uncles. This right is

/265 cont./

602 preserved in the form of remnants even among peoples who
604 by now have shifted to paternity, for example, the peoples
171 of the Caucasus, where a tribesman has the right to steal his
uncle's horse, if the latter refuses to give it as a gift. Among the Altaians the saying that "a tribesman is worse than seven wolves" has been preserved to this day.

584 Moreover, the role of the brother in giving his sister in
593 marriage is quite characteristic. In many cases, it is not
the father, but the brother who plays the main role in this affair; the agreement to the marriage depends on him, and the bride price is handed over to him.

174 Not a few other extremely indicative traces which may
196 be considered remnants of maternality have been preserved
591 in the language and customs. Thus, if a Gilyak wishes to say
171 that he is married, that he has a wife at home, he says:
n´i-umgarvo ivrà, literally "I have a wife's village" (n´i -- I, umgar -- wife's, vo -- village, ivra -- there is), an expression completely corresponding to the present-day way of life of the Ainu, among whom to this day maternality has been preserved, and often husband and wife live in different settlements, and the former shows up to live with her for several months, and then he returns to his own settlement, so that a man has, besides his own native settlement, still another settlement where his wife lives.

174 Another example: the term for designating a person's
611 origin is the expression pandos´, literally "root of birth."
614 This term indicates not the clan of a man, as would naturally
186 be expected under the contemporary agnatic system, nor the
settlement in which he was born, but the place of his mother's clan. It is interesting to note in this case the reverence with which the Gilyak regards the homeland of not only his mother, but also her female ancestors. No matter how distant such a settlement might be, every man tries to find an occasion to visit, and more than once my /266/ Gilyak companions during the time of my travels amazed me by the tenderness and

174 /266 cont./
611 reverence with which they approached a settlement where,
614 according to them, one of their female ancestors had once
186 lived.

In several places to this day, to a question about origin, the Gilyak point to the places from where their mothers and wives came. For example, in the settlement of Nyyvo at the mouth of the Tym' river on the eastern coast of Sakhalin, they reply to the question about the origin of the inhabitants of that settlement, "We are Nyurskie," i.e., come from the settlement of Nyur, which is on the northernmost tip of Sakhalin, and, when I asked for an explanation of this strange answer, it was explained to me: "Because we take wives from Nyur."

Thus, these people reckoned their origin according to the place of the homeland of their mothers, for, as we saw above, the wives of the Gilyak are taken predominantly from the clan of the mother. I shall introduce still another interesting remnant.

553 Usually at the present time children are given names
184 according to the clansmen of the father. Such is the general
614 rule, but there are still places (for example, the settlement
611 of Nanivo on the west shore) where they give names according to the brothers and clansmen of the mother; thus, it is as though the children were members of the mother's clan.

602 All these are remnants which are entirely out of line with
611 the agnate organization of the contemporary Gilyak clan,
174 but they are remnants which are intimately bound up with the
present-day psychology of the Gilyak. For the Gilyak them-
[582] selves they are not remnants; this is made clear mainly by
[614] the marriage norms, according to which spouses are cousins, the children of brother and sister, and the members of each clan preferably take wives from one and the same clan, so that the psychologies of paternity and of maternality cross each other, and in the main between male and female lines there does not exist that gulf which is present in those agnate organizations where the Gilyak norms of marriage are not in effect.

/266 cont./

177 To a certain degree one may admit the influence on the
58 matrimonial psychology of the Gilyak from the Ainu, who,
[173] judging from legends, were constantly infiltrating the mass
of Gilyak settlements in the form of individual immigrants,
and they exerted their influence on it in many respects,
as we shall see particularly clearly in our examination of
[171 religious institutions. But this influence in the sphere of
601] marriage was in general quite limited, for it is impossible
to find a similarity between the two systems in their kinship
terms or their norms of marriage.

/267/

XIV.

Forms of Concluding Marriage

582 We have already had occasion to introduce in another
538 place, as a clear illustration of the former obligation to
marry women from the clan of the mother, from the an'g:ej
the episode from the Gilyak poem, when the Gilyak, dying
from a wound inflicted on him by a man who has the right to
his daughter, summons his slayer and says to the people who a
are present: "Although this man has slain me, give him my
daughter; do not fail to carry out my wish for any reason."
The epos just as clearly portrays for us the old forms of concluding
marriage, corresponding completely to the norms
of obligatory marriage.

58 Once a marriage is obligatory, there can be no question
of complicated procedures in concluding the marriage, such
as betrothal and negotiations concerning property obligations,
and, of course, there can be no question of payment for the
bride. There can be no question of religious rites connected
with a move into an alien clan. The bride and the groom
are of one common blood on the paternal and on the
[538] maternal side. Therefore, in all the works of the epos

/267 cont./

58 538 we find one and the same picture of concluding marriage without any formalities. It is merely necessary for a man, even though he may come from far away, even though he is only by hearsay considered a candidate for being a son-in-law, to state the reason for his coming, and he immediately receives the consent of the parents, and after that all the rights of a spouse, and on the very next day he may take his wife home with him. And that is not all; not only do they not demand any compensation from him, but usually the father-in-law even provides the departing ones with generous gifts. [593] As a matter of form, it is true, they ask for the consent of the daughter, but maidens usually obey the will of their parents and the demand of the law. 585 538 The sole rite which inevitably is practiced is a kind of Roman confarreatio, but in the most primitive form: the groom and his bride must eat and smoke together. Here is an example of the procedure of concluding a marriage from one of the poems taken down by me. An old woman, the mother of two daughters, asks a young man who has arrived: "Son, why have you come here? Did you come to seek a wife? Your wives are over there in that pile yurt, your wives are there, go!" Our Gilyak ascended to the place, went in, and two young women were there. He sat down between them; having dipped into his tobacco pouch, he began to smoke, gave to the younger sister, she took, she smoked; he then gave to the older sister, she took she smoked. The older sister said: "Having prepared a bite, feed us..." All three ate together. Having eaten, they finished, they slept, on the next day they arose early, ate, our Gilyak /268/ said: "Shall we go today?" That woman said: "Well, having spent today here, tomorrow we shall go!" Having spent the day, on the next day they went back in a boat (1).

1. Shternberg, Materialy /Materials/, pp. 118-119.

/268 cont./

585 538 In another poem, in response to the demand of the bridegroom, the father-in-law makes only one condition: "You will not go back before tomorrow!" He then orders his slaves to prepare a bite for the couple and, turning to his daughter, says: "Eat together with your husband!" That woman ate with our Gilyak. Having eaten, they went out, urinated, entered, arranged the bedding and lay themselves down under the same blanket, and went to sleep. On the following day that old man said: "You shall set out in five large boats loaded to the top with nothing but valuables" (1) /see footnote 1 above/.

538 584 585 Another example. The hero of a poem arrived in a town with many people, and, when he went into the center yurt, a woman was alone there. This woman said: "O, guest, from where have you come?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take you!" This woman said: "If you wish to take me, go to my father, talk it over!" Our Gilyak went out, went into a yurt; an old man, an old woman were there. This old woman said: "You are a man from where?" Our Gilyak said: "I have come to take your daughter!" That old man rose: "Well then, prepare mos' feed my son-in-law." Our Gilyak left, he came to his wife: "Your father said that we both, having come as guests in the evening, are to eat mos'." His wife: "All right!" That evening they went visiting, having eaten mos' they left; having had a good sleep, they arose, ate, and then went back (i.e., with her husband to his village). /Footnotes 2 and 3 at the bottom of the original text p. 268, referring to Shternberg's Materialy, p. 84 and pp. 57, 58, respectively are not indicated in the text./

582 [681] Orthodox forms at the present time. Now, as we see, firmly seated in every Gilyak there is the consciousness that only an orthodox marriage, i.e., marriage from the clan of akhmalk'i, from the clan of the mother, is lawful, "pure."
[184] [178] Even on the Amur, where the old norms have especially undergone change, to the question about the marriage norms they will say to you first of all: "It is necessary to take a wife from the fathers-in-law -- the root of one's birth" (i.e.,

/268 cont./

582 origin from a common mother). The favored and most frequent form of such an orthodox marriage is a marriage between the son of a brother and the daughter of a sister /sic/.
584
585 Such marriages are concluded in childhood. Negotiations take place /269/ between the mothers soon after the birth of the children, but after the agreement a public ceremony is organized, in which, besides the fathers, the grandfathers of the children who are being married take part. The father of the groom brings a male dog, and the mother spins two threads out of the fur of this dog and a nettle; with one she binds the hand of the little girl, while with the other the father of the groom ties the son's little hand (1). All this is performed in the presence of the elder members of the clan, and the marriage is considered inviolable.

[581]
584
582 The idea of the orthodox marriage up to the present is thought of not merely as being desirable, but as a right and obligation. When a marriage from the akhmalk clan is arranged on Sakhalin (although that clan may have only recently attained such a position by virtue of the fact that some kinsman took his wife from that clan), negotiations are usually begun with words like this: "You are my akhmalk, let

[171] 1. It is curious that among the Haida the ceremony of concluding the marriage of infants, which among them is expressed by the giving of a blanket instead of a dog, bears the technical designation, "nakladyvanie perevyazki" (Engl. "putting the string on"). Evidently this ceremony, as among the Gilyak, was formerly carried out by means of a binding up with string or thread, just as is done in such cases up to the present day among the Tamil in India.

/269 cont./
584 my children and your children also be akhmalk'i. If you do
582 not give your daughter to my son, you will completely break
the old law, that will be bad. Let us do everything according
to law ('live pure')."

[583] After such a reminder, rarely does anyone refuse his duty,
even though this obligation entails the loss of property, for in
such cases they either do not give a bride price, or they give
a very small one, if the akhmalk is not an ancient one.

177 Unorthodox forms of concluding marriage. The most varied
178 circumstances led to the destruction of orthodox marriages
614 in the clans of akhmalk'i. One of the causes was the depopulation
433 of the clans from which they took wives, which compelled
556 them to marry women of alien clans. Another cause,
[582] perhaps the most important, was an economic one, brought
about by their contact with the cultured peoples of the Far
East, a contact which gave impetus to the development of
hunting pursuits for commercial exchange. Objects which
formerly had no value, such as the skins of the sable and fox,
became objects for which one might obtain not only objects
of luxury, such as expensive cloth, valuable weapons, and
ornaments, but also food and spices, such as rice, groats,
and, finally, alcohol and tobacco. Even nowadays the
Gilyak clearly remember the time when sables and foxes used
to run around fearlessly in great numbers near the Gilyak
dwellings, and no one /270/ killed them, since they preferred
to dress themselves in dog hides. And all of a sudden
in exchange for these beasts it became possible to obtain
177 the most desirable objects. A tremendous change inevitably
178 took place in the psychics of the Gilyak and in the relationships
556 of the people among themselves. If formerly a man's
582 dream did not go beyond attaining the reputation of a good
584 person, urdla n'ivukh, i.e., an outstanding hunter who shared
[594] his catch with his tribesmen, now urdla n'ivukh became a
synonym for "rich man," whose dream was to amass a
quantity of luxury objects. Self-interest and boasting appeared
upon the scene, as well as the desire to excel others

177 /270 cont./
178 in one's own wealth, although it only amounted to the
556 possession of several pieces of silk material, Japanese sabers,
582 and so forth. There appeared on the scene a tendency toward
584 differentiation. The rich man desired to associate with and
[565] become related to only rich people. In the question of the
choice of a wife there appeared new dictates. One demanded
of a wife that she be from a family of equal wealth and,
consequently, of an equally high social rank. And now, even
in the ancient "tylgund" -- legends -- there is heard in
matrimonial dealings the expression: "He (or she) is not my
178 equal." On the other hand, wealth allowed one to manifest
556 a special fastidiousness in the choice of a wife, to seek
58 women who were famous for their special qualities, who
614 were outstanding for their beauty, their domestic talents,
their artistry in sewing, and other feminine tasks. But once
marriage came to be practiced between members of alien
clans, the former simplicity of concluding marriage vanished.
There appeared on the scene the new institution of bride price,
which introduced into the institution of marriage the element
of purchase-sale; besides this, marriage between persons of
alien clans demanded preliminary negotiations and the procedures of betrothal. We now turn to these institutions.

192 The terms of betrothal. The procedure of betrothal is ex-
pressed by various terms, denoting literally, "to agree, to
584 come to an agreement about the bride"; hence, the match-
maker -- "the man who makes an agreement"; bride --
"future wife"; groom -- "future husband." For us, the terms
for groom and bride are particularly interesting. With
orthodox marriage there is no special term for groom and
bride, for according to the right of birth the groom is called
pu -- husband, and the bride -- an'g:ej. The term jokh,
[174] which is used nowadays to designate the bride, is entirely
inadmissible with orthodox marriage, for, as we have seen,
with orthodox marriage jokh is a term of prohibition for sexual
intercourse. Thus, the term itself shows that the procedure
of betrothal arose after the weakening of the regime of
orthodox marriage.

/270 cont./
192 orthodox marriage. For an agreement concerning an orthodox
584 /271/ marriage with a young girl there is even the special
[199] term tkhagund (eastern dialect tygnydz).

584 Persons participating in the betrothal. On the side of the groom
602 the representatives are: 1) father and mother; 2) brother of the
[593] father; 3) elder brother of the groom; 4) husband of the sister
of the father. The role of the latter individual is explained
apparently by the norms of orthodox marriage. According
to this last, the husband of the sister of the father is the
father of the husband of the sister of the groom. Since by
the norms of Gilyak marriage his daughter cannot marry the
brother of his daughter-in-law, the husband of the sister of
the father considers it his duty to promote the marriage of
his closest akhmalk, the brother of his own daughter-in-law.
584 If the father is dead, he is replaced by one of the urdla
602 n'ivukh (honored persons) among his clansmen. Since the
614 marriage is considered the affair of the clan, there frequently
participate, in addition to these persons, several honored
clansmen. When the betrothal involves a very wealthy per-
[556] son, the honored clansmen come in several boats, bringing
[583] with them at once the articles of the bride price, and fre-
quently, if the delegation plus the rich bride price makes the
proper impression, they immediately take the maiden away
with them upon the conclusion of the negotiations.

584 The bridegroom also attends the betrothal. If he is all
554 alone, or if, on the contrary, he is quite wealthy and re-
556 nowned, he can become betrothed by himself. In one song the
[533] maiden sings to her beloved: "Holding my hand, betroth me."

595 Matchmakers are unnecessary in the case of a married
584 man who wants to marry a second wife. Then he himself
614 usually goes to the clan of his first wife, but often the latter
herself goes to her own clan or to another one (if there are
no suitable candidates in her own) for the selection and
betrothal of a new girl-friend for her husband.

593 /271 cont./
584 The bride is customarily represented by the father and
614 mother, but for the final decision the attendance of repre-
[602] sentatives of the clan is required. The latter, both those
of the bride and of the groom, intervene in the negotiations,
but their participation is rather passive. In resolving the
question, aside from the consent of the father and mother,
the wishes of the brothers play a part. Frequently the wishes
of the latter are decisive. Here is a remnant of maternality.
593 In the epos the role of the brothers stands out in sharp relief.
584 In one story which I wrote down, a father, when his son in-
[538] forms him of his intention to give his sister in marriage, re-
plies: "Do thou but think upon it only after hearing the
584 counsel of your younger brothers!" It is noteworthy, also,
184 that the role of the mother, despite the fact that women
[593] generally /272/ do not participate in community affairs, is
[562] no smaller in matrimonial affairs than that of the father.
This, however, is the case only on Sakhalin; on the Amur
the wishes of the bride are not considered, although the
negotiations are conducted in the presence of the maiden, who
sits silently in her accustomed place among the trunks with
her dowry and waits for the decision concerning her fate.
Ordinarily her role begins when the matter has already been
decided, and it only remains for her to submit. And if she
does not have a lover to whom she has promised herself, and
if the bridegroom is more or less attractive in appearance, she
ordinarily tosses off the laconic phrase: "Since you wish this,
is it for me to contradict!" But it may happen that the maiden,
upon the appearance of the matchmakers with the bridegroom,
immediately runs away and does not return until the departure
of the matchmakers, and then the matter frequently ends in
naught (1). The bride, however, appears on the scene at the

[171] 1. It is interesting to note that among the Negda, whose customs, as a result of ancient matrimonial ties, are as a rule similar to those of the Gilyak, considerable differences were noticed by me.

/272 cont./

584 The bride is not present during
184 the betrothal, the mother has the
[171] absolute right of veto, and the
kinsmen play no role.

last moment, when the bridegroom arrives to take her home
584 with him. The disregarding of wishes of the daughter is not
174 at all, I believe, the result of the newer stage of marriage accompanied by bride price, where the parents have motives of self-interest in the choosing of a bridegroom; it is rather a remnant of the orthodox marriage, where from her very childhood a girl was destined by obligation for one definite person or limited group of persons, and there could be no question of full freedom of choice, all the more because the marriages were actually concluded soon after birth.

584 The procedure of betrothal. In the procedure of betrothal among the Gilyak we find features which are repeated with remarkable similarity among the most diverse peoples. The procedure of betrothal is a true diplomatic war surrounded by a whole series of military stratagems. In serious cases, when the matter involves a very wealthy and renowned girl, the matchmakers try to catch the other side unawares and at first conceal the object of their coming. Arriving at the house, they say that they are passing by. Casually they bring out vodka from their travel provisions. The unsuspecting hosts readily accept the treat, and, when they are in a good mood, the matchmakers begin to recall that they are old friends of the host, that he has never refused their requests, and they hope that in the future they shall not meet with refusals. The host, suspecting nothing, promises zealously to assist them with everything at his disposal. And here they take him at his word and come to the point. /273/ He can no
[675] longer decline, for he has given his word. In order that the host may not repudiate his promise, the matchmakers have taken timely, precautionary measures to invite witnesses.

/273 cont./

584 675 Even without invitations, however, there are always witnesses, for the arrival of countrymen immediately becomes known and the yurt is filled with outsiders. [686] Repudiation of one's word is a serious matter, for which one is summoned to court, and this results in a large fine.

584 576 But even if the matchmakers do not wish to or cannot conceal the purpose of their coming, etiquette does not permit them to come immediately to the point.

At first they speak about the most unrelated things, not giving any hint of the purpose of their coming. During the conversation, drinks are passed around. Having conversed enough concerning "news, events," they gradually come to the point, but they are obliged to approach it through circumlocutions and hints, attempting to discover how favorable the chances are. If the father of the bride disapproves from the start, he immediately cuts off the matchmakers with a categorical rejection. But this rarely happens, for no one goes to make a match without a chance for an agreement. [203] Usually they come, as the Gilyak say, as "equals to equals," for all the Gilyak, no matter how far they live from one another, know everything about one another, down to the minutest details, even who killed how many sables during the last season. The question is merely one of not assenting quickly, in order to bargain as much as possible. Etiquette requires the father to pretend for a long time that he does not know why the matchmakers have come, and, when it is no longer possible to pretend, he must think up all possible excuses and obstacles. Ordinarily he resorts to deprecatory opinions about his daughter, asserting that she is very ugly in appearance, understands nothing about the care of the house, that she is quarrelsome, etc. But the guests are quite prepared for these evasions and have answers prepared in advance. "We," they say, "are not chasing after loveliness; and as for the care of the house, she is still quite young, she will learn, and anyway we have enough women experts without her; as for her ill-temper, that is no misfortune, the years will teach her how to live with people." Or they interrupt

/273 cont./

584 576 him curtly: "That is not your business. We will take care of that. If she is bad, we will teach her!" This unconditional approval of the bride is all the host needs; after that he will know how to set the most advantageous conditions, to which the matchmakers are compelled to agree (1).

114 077 1. This is exactly the way the Gilyak explain the motives for the father's deprecatory opinions of his daughter. I think, therefore, that Iokhel'son was wrong in explaining this custom among the Koryak as a preventive against possible future complaints (The Koryak, 739).

/274/ But it may happen that the father will not give any sign that he is gratified by the attitude of the matchmakers toward the inadequacies of his daughter. When all the objections are exhausted, he suddenly fires the phrase which the Gilyak commonly utters when he wants to cut short a disagreeable conversation: "I know nothing," he says through the pipe clenched in his teeth. And after a short pause he angrily declares: "Ask my wife what she wants, it is not my business." Then they begin to regale the mother of the bride, who, after long excuses, in turn finishes with the laconic phrase: "Why do you ask me? Let the men decide!" Finally, the negotiations move to the business basis of the bride price and dowry. In this connection the customs are different on Sakhalin and the Amur. On the Amur, where the people are more mercantile, the bride's side unashamedly enumerates down to the slightest detail the objects of the bride price. 583 584 184

On Sakhalin they are more modest; at first they name only two or three objects, the most valuable ones of the expected bride price, and after that they only haggle over secondary valuables. But in both places the procedure of the negotiations is carried on in an elevated atmosphere.

/274 cont./

584 At this stage the viscosity of the negotiations reaches
583 its apogee, and "tayoray" /spelled with Russian letters; see below/ begins to play a quite exceptional role. I happened to be present when in the settlement of Pil'vo on Sakhalin a Gilyak whom I knew, a certain Isayka, betrothed his little boy to the 15-year-old daughter of an old widow. The old woman had no kin in the settlement, neither any of her own nor any on the side of her deceased husband. At her request, therefore, all the honorable persons of the settlement assembled. On the bridegroom's side there appeared, besides his father, his clansman, Sofronka. At first, it seemed that the business would quickly end, for the old woman was very needy and had pushed forward her own proposal herself. But when they came to a discussion of the bride price, Sofronka argued with her the whole day. In vain did he employ all his eloquence and ask those present to help him convince the old woman of the acceptability of the conditions. She invariably reiterated one thing: "tajoraj /spelled with Latin letters/!" Finally, after a whole day of tormenting negotiations, when the old woman found that she had sufficiently maintained her character and completely fulfilled all the demands of etiquette, she offered the conditions with which the other side had been in agreement from the very beginning, namely, that the bride price should be paid at once in its entirety.

[126] To indicate the character of the ceremony of negotiations, I shall cite the introductory dialogue of a matchmaker with the father of the bride that I wrote down /275/ on the Amur. The matchmaker, the father of the groom, Pevn by name, is asking for the daughter of Lakkan. Both are well-to-do men, old acquaintances.

584 After the customary exchange of news, after drinking
583 some vodka, Pevn says (I translate literally): We both
539 have been for a long time as an elder brother with a younger
[203] (like brothers), great friends have we been. Now I have
[576] come through need, it was necessary to come to thee. It is a matter, a big matter, when the need came, do thou come to my aid.

/275 cont./

584 Lakkan: Whatever I have, (with it) I am ready to aid thee,
583 although I have nothing.

539 Pevn: If thou hast something, wilt thou not pity me, wilt thou not wish to help?

Lakkan: To this day I have refused thee nothing, is it not so?

Pevn: Of course.

Lakkan: If thou shalt have something, thou wilt have pity on me. Once thou shalt have something, I shall also have, is it not so?

Pevn: If thus hast thou spoken, it gladdens me. Thus in truth thou art ready to give me what thou hast?

Lakkan: What I have, if thou shalt ask, I am ready to give thee.

After this the matchmaker again pours the drinks and, finally, unexpectedly announces: "Thou hast promised to give me what thou hast. Now you have a daughter, I have a son. Let us become akhmalk'i."

To this Lakkan replies: I have already given my word to others.

Pevn: What if you did give your word to another man? You also gave your word to me before witnesses. I will go to court with you.

583 After such preliminary negotiations, they proceed to the
[584] business negotiations concerning the bride price.

Bride price and dowry. In the Gilyak institution of the bride price, payment for the bride, the term that the Gilyak call this institution is extremely characteristic. This term, I believe, throws light on the very origin of the institution.

174 In the Gilyak language bride price is expressed by the
583 word az', az'r from azimynd (?) -- to give as a gift, so that
192 literally az', az'r means a present, a gift, which the family
or the clan of the groom gives to the family or the clan of
the bride. That this term was not formed by chance is shown
[628] from the following. In other ritual cases where compensation
with valuables is obligatory, for example, in the case of
ransom -- damages paid for an abducted woman, for a
murdered man -- the term used is jus'kind, which means

/275 cont./
174 "to pay." It is curious that this very word /276/ jusʹkind -- "to
192 pay" is derived from the word usʹkind, which in the middle voice
583 is a synonym of ukhskind -- to fight, to war (jusʹkind is merely
628 the active voice of this same verb). In other words -- usʹkind was
originally an institution of revenge, later replaced by ransom --
peacemaking for a payment of damages. This evolution can still
be traced even now in the epos. In one poem written down by
me, where the hero has gone to take revenge for his murdered
father, they ask him on his return: Pytk usʹkind joylo? -- "Did
you fulfill usʹkind for your father (literally usʹkind -- 'fulfill'),
did you take vengeance?" He answers: "sik khukhra!" -- "I
killed them all." Here the term usʹkind is used in the sense of the
act of blood revenge. But in another poem the same term is used
in the sense of ransom. "Yvn nafkh usʹkim -- "For their (slain
companion), they paid damages, ransom."

583 From all this it is clear that the bride price in its original
174 sense was not at all a payment for the bride, but a gift, although
431 obligatory. But this becomes obvious from the fact that this gift
was by no means one-sided. For the father of the bride it was
583 just as obligatory to give, in addition to the dowry, a post-
431 wedding gift to the groom, and these gifts of clothing continue in
various values for several years, and they were very often no
less than the bride price (1). It is considered a disgrace not to

[126] 1. Here is an illustration of the institution of the bride price as an institution of mutual gift-giving, one of many examples which I wrote down. An elder in the settlement of Pomr, a man who was not well-to-do, gave as bride price for his daughter /sic/ two Chinese kettles, one Japanese /kettle/, and five dogs. In exchange, the father-in-law sent his son-in-law two Chinese robes and for two or three

/276 cont./

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431 years regularly sent him rice, tobacco, and tea, and divided with him all that he obtained in the way of objects of consumption. Besides this, he had given a large dowry of clothing, furs, and ornaments.

[626] return a gift of equal value to the bridegroom. A Gilyak who breaks this custom becomes a general laughingstock. Besides the gifts to the groom, it is also the father's obligation to provide his daughter with a dowry equal in value to the bride price, and the dowry is in essence as much a gift to the daughter as it is to her husband, who is freed from the great expense of expenditures on his wife.

Thus, it is clear that, at least among the Gilyak (among other peoples, too, there is much reason to think) (2), bride

[171] 2. Incidentally, among the Turkic peoples and the Shoshoni Indians, where marriage actually has the character of buying-selling, giving presents to the groom is just as obligatory as it is among the Gilyak.

price is not at all a replacement for marriage by abduction, as has been asserted up to now by many and considered to be
583 axiomatic until very recently. In the legal consciousness of the Gilyak, marriage accompanied by bride price is not an act of buying and selling, either; evidence for /277/ this is the fact that it is positively not allowed to buy wives from one another.

583
182 It remains for us to answer the question, why is there no bride price in the orthodox marriage? The fact is that in this last case marriages are concluded between persons who are bound by common blood both on the side of the father and on the side of the mother; the marriage is sanctioned both socially and religiously. But when marriages are concluded between alien clans, the exchange of gifts plays a role both magical (a mutual guarantee

/277 cont./

583 182 of safety from evil magical influences) and social, as a symbol of friendship, analogous to the exchange of gifts upon the conclusion of ceremonial brotherhood. We see from the rites which are observed when the bride moves to the home of the groom that the Gilyak give a socio-religious significance to such symbolism of new relations.

And it is also possible that into the concept of bride price there was introduced an element not only magical, but also purely religious. Giving a woman in marriage to a clan not orthodoxly prescribed was taboo, and every violation of a taboo, according to the logic of primitive man, should be atoned for in some way -- if not by blood, then by valuables. Bride price from this point of view appears to be tribute for appeasing the souls of the ancestors offended by the violation of the clan taboo. By this [686] [682] alone can one explain why the Gilyak react just as strongly to the nonpayment of the bride price for a woman as they do to the slaying of a clansman. The obligation to receive satisfaction in this case, as in the case of a killing, extends to the third generation in the whole clan.

583 686 538 For the sake of obtaining this, persons are ready to take the same risk and deprivation as in carrying out an act of blood revenge. The heroic exploits of such persons who have undertaken long and dangerous treks into the most remote places are one of the most common subjects in the epic works.

583 422 The objects used for bride price and the conditions of payment. An object that is part of the bride price is usually a particular kind of valuable, an object sui generis, the so-called shagynd [439] (E.D.), shygynd (W.D.). These are valuables which are predominantly obtained from the Chinese and Japanese by trade. Among these objects are: Chinese silk garments and pieces of material, Chinese fur-coats, several articles of nephrite, Manchurian spears inlaid with silver, Japanese sabers, and also big, cast-iron kettles. Besides this, objects of this class include fox and sable fur-coats and feminine articles of adornment. In [104] ancient times, evidently, axes, too, /278/ at first stone, later

422 /278 cont./
583 iron, served as objects in the shagynd (1).
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[773] 1. The following splendid legend gives evidence concerning this. In the central section of Sakhalin there is a mountain, Kryus´ pal, and along side of it another, somewhat smaller mountain, the "wife" of the latter, who has run away from him and hidden her shagynd. Three riverside rocks represent the different objects of the shagynd. One bears the designation Wa-ul-s′if, meaning "place where the Japanese saber is buried," another Wyn-ul-af -- "place where the kettle is buried," and the third, Kys′okhty -- the butt of the ax.

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These are objects which are unalienable, extra commercium. Only in exceptional cases of extreme poverty or the absence of clansmen is the alienation of objects of the shagynd category allowed, and even then only a part of them. A poor widow in the settlement of Pilavo, who had sold her only daughter, answered my question as to what she was going to do with the shagynd in this way: "Part of it I shall sell, and the remainder will go with me to Mlyvo -- to the world beyond the grave." They are preserved for only exceptional cases in the life of the owner -- for the payment of blood money on account of a slaying, or when one must marry off one's sons and pay a bride price or give a dowry to one's daughters, and, after the death of the owner -- to accompany him to the world beyond the grave. Only such objects figure in the bride price of rich persons. But among persons of lesser means, the bride price is made up of valuable utilitarian objects -- boats, guns, dogs, and so forth.

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Rich people, seeking a large bride price, are guided mainly by ambition, for obtaining a rich bride price is the best evidence of one's own wealth. For a poor man the bride price is his only

/278 cont./

583 chance to establish an independent economy. But there is another
554 side to the coin -- it is almost impossible for a poor man to settle
735 down with a family, and, consequently, an independent economy.
But to a certain degree the rights of group marriage and the possibility of leading a common domestic life with his brothers come
[183] to his rescue. Everyone's dream, however, is to settle down with
[614] his own family. Usually the clan in the persons of the well-to-do
[476] clansmen comes to the rescue of the poor man. But not every clan
has rich people, and, besides, there are persons whose clan has died out. The only solution then is to obtain a wife by work. Usually such a transaction is entered into by a family in which there are no offspring of the male sex, and it is as though the son-in-law were declared an adopted son, although, as a mem-
583 ber of another clan, he cannot be an actual heir. Methods of
554 lightening the payment of the bride price are practiced: a wife
452 is purchased in small installments with yearly payments until her
735 majority. But also in the purchase of an adult, /279/ installment
buying is sometimes practiced, depending on the contract. A
583 curious means of paying the bride price is the case of payment
735 with the bride price of a future daughter. I know of such a case.
554 The Gilyak Kanka married the sister of the young boy Pletunka.
He did not pay a bride price, but he promised to support his widowed mother and to hand over to him the bride price of his own future daughter. And the agreement was fulfilled. Pletunka was about twenty years old when Kanka gave his own daughter in marriage, and he handed over the whole bride price to Pletunka.

583 As a matter of principle the bride price belongs to the clan.
614 At a difficult moment of life, for example, if it becomes
[627] necessary to pay blood money, each clan-member takes part
with his shagynd. But usually the bride price is distributed among the brothers, although not proportionately; the youngest, as heir to the house, usually receives the smallest share. Besides this, the elder brother buys a wife for the younger brother before his own marriage, so that the younger brother does not need the
000 shagynd for bride price. Along with the distribution of the bride

583 582 /279 cont./ Along with the distribution of the bride price within the family, customs of a completely exceptional character are preserved, clearly testifying to the old orthodox form of marriage. Namely, part of the bride price is given to the "old akhmalk," i.e., to that akhmalk with whom a given family has concluded orthodox matrimonial unions. Thus, for example, if in the course of several generations family A has taken wives from family B, i.e., the sons of sisters in each generation have married the daughters of their own brothers, then every time the family gives in marriage any one of its women, who, as we see, are forbidden to the men of family B by virtue of the unilaterality of the cousin marriage, and receives bride price, then a part of it is given to the eldest one in family B, usually to the brother of the mother of the woman who has been given in marriage, rarely to the father of the latter, if he is alive. It is curious that the family of the groom presents this gift to the old akhmalk as part of the bride price. This custom is practiced in a still more striking form. They give their infant sister to the brother of their mother, or their daughter to the brother of their wife, in order that these persons may afterwards receive the bride price for them, but participation in the distribution of the latter may not be demanded. "It is better to propose one's daughter or sister to the old akhmalk oneself," the Gilyak usually add when they are talking about this custom, "than to wait for a request about the matter." And this is not all; if a mother has several brothers and a nephew has several sisters, then one /of the sisters/ is supposed to be given to each /of the brothers/. What is the explanation of this strange custom? We [171] have a completely analogous case among the Tamil, where the mother's brother also receives a part of the bride price when the woman is given /280/ in marriage. But among the Tamil cousin marriage is bilateral, so that if a man's sister does not give her daughter in marriage to the son of her brother, she thereby breaks the law; but among the Gilyak cousin marriage is unilateral, and for the son of the brother of the mother the daughter [174] of this last is forbidden. But why then does the mother's brother have such preference? Here a double explanation is possible:

/280 cont./

582 583 174 it is a remnant of maternality when the mother's brother played a privileged role; the contemporary institution of unilateral cousin marriage among the Gilyak appeared to replace the more ancient bilateral one when every maiden was obliged to marry the son of her mother's brother, and thus the custom which we are observing is a remnant of a more ancient norm of marriage.

583 I turn now to the other principal obligation, the companion to the institution of marriage -- to the dowry.

583 556 For the dowry the Gilyak have the term jokh shond:, signifying literally -- "the thing which is brought by the bride, the woman." The dowry consists mainly of various types of clothing and ornaments. The dowry of a rich bride consists of an assortment of valuable fur-coats -- fox and sable -- and silver bracelets, expensive earrings, Chinese pipes, and also rich, carved, and decorated dishes, including an assortment of artistically decorated birch spoons. The mother usually gives her ornaments to her daughter, and sometimes also a bed, but for some reason one must not give away pillows. They begin to prepare the dowry in the very earliest years and continue up until the marriage of the maiden. This is called jokh wakh -- "to get the bride ready." They lay away the dowry in good time in sacred chests with the family valuables, among which, in a well-to-do family, the bride usually sits solemnly. The size of the dowry usually should be proportional to the size of the bride price. When the gossiping women talk about one or another wedding, they refer
583 556 567 to a "rich" and a "poor" dowry. It is considered a matter of the greatest pride to provide the daughter with a male or female slave besides her things. In the clan of a Gilyak of my acquaintance, Yuskin, they gave to a maiden as part of her dowry a female slave (akh), whom they provided with a Japanese saber for cleaning the soles of her mistress' boots. Especially ambitious rich people set aside a separate house for their daughter-bride, and a slave, who is later given to her as dowry, is put in it to serve her.

583 422 The dowry, although it is compensation for the bride price, since it frees the husband from great expenditures for the wife, is nevertheless exclusively a gift to the bride, her private property /281/ to which the husband has no rights whatsoever.

/281 cont./

583 422 428 She may sell it or give it to her daughters in their dowries. After her death it goes to her daughters, and, if there are none, she may will it, or else it goes to her brothers.

583 585 After the agreement on the bride price. The negotiations over the bride price amount to two questions -- the question of the quantity and the question of the term. It may happen that the bride price is paid immediately after the negotiations, and then the marriage is at once considered concluded. The bride and the groom are summoned, ordered to eat and smoke a little together, a small feast with drinks is spread, and in the evening the mother of the bride orders the groom to lie down on the bed of his wife, and after spending the night in the nuptial bed the newly wedded husband carried off his wife, with a certain ceremony of which we shall speak below, to his home. But such cases are rare. It does happen, when both the groom and the bride belong to families of little means and the bride price is therefore small, that it is brought at once, and the dowry of the bride amounts to the most necessary things of her toilette, and
583 585 556 no preparations whatsoever are demanded. Among rich families, the immediate removal of the bride occurs only when the groom lives very far away, when the given marriage is especially valued, either as a result of the high social standing of the parents of the bride or as a consequence of the particular renown enjoyed by the bride ("a maiden famed throughout the entire land"), and they are afraid of any delay for fear of the agreement's being broken if a richer competitor appears. In such cases they come at once in several boats with the whole bride price and in the company of their noblest clansmen, and after the bringing in of the bride price, a feast, and several short ceremonies, they carry the bride away along with her dowry.
583 585 [452] But, I repeat, such cases are rare. Usually in such cases the wedding is delayed. The delivery of the bride price is arranged in installments. At first only one object is left, usually a kettle; the remaining part is brought either directly before the removal of the bride, or, if the bride price is very large, part of it is even brought within a certain agreed-upon length of time after the removal of the bride.

/281 cont./

583 584 The wedding may be delayed also on account of the dowry. Although they begin to prepare the dowry in childhood, nevertheless, depending on the bride price which is brought, it may become necessary to prepare a new one. The last item in the negotiations is the date of the wedding. This is considered very important, for on the day of the groom's arrival the dowry must be ready, and likewise the numerous viands, not only for the wedding feast, but also those viands of all kinds which the bride will take away with her as a present to the groom's family.

584 614 [686] /282/ The agreement which has been concluded between the two families is considered an agreement between two clans, and the bride herself from this moment on is regarded as belonging to the clan. In case of refusal on her part or on the part of her parents, the clan will demand her by force.

584 686 The agreement is also binding for the other side, but here no sanction is demanded, for in case of refusal it loses the part of the bride price which has been brought (usually half). It happens, however, but quite rarely, that the groom will ask for, instead of one sister, another sister. But this is absolutely forbidden. In such cases they answer him:

"If you do not like her, then you do not like both (both the one and the other). When the matter concerns dogs, you want a good one, and I give you (a good one); if one does not suit you, then both will not suit you. When we give you something to eat, if you eat up the first dish, then I shall give you the second."

[595] In other words, one may ask for two daughters, but to ask for one instead of the other is not permitted.

585 [576] When, finally, the day agreed upon arrives, the groom, together with his parents, comes in boats in the summertime, on sleds in the winter, bringing with them the part of the bride price agreed upon and refreshments. Etiquette forbids that they come on foot, although the bride may live very close by. At this time the family of the bride hangs out the objects of the bride price for the public inspection of the clansmen, and refreshments are spread for the elder representatives of both clans. The women look after the bride in all kinds of ways; they comfort her, give

/282 cont./

585 her advice on how to live in a strange land, and, if she is unhappy about the marriage, they try to persuade her in every way possible. During the farewell feast the groom sits alongside the bride, and both eat from one dish and smoke from the same pipe, but during that day they usually do not converse. In general, the groom is supposed to comport himself modestly the whole day, and not to converse. Late in the evening, when the feast is over, the bride's mother orders the bridegroom to lie down on the bride's bed, and the marriage act is consummated. On the next morning the newly married woman brings something to eat to the newly married man and calls him "husband." On that very
585 morning they depart. Before the departure there is a last
782 regalement, and at that time the parents of the newlyweds exchange prayers of good wishes. Here is an example of such
539 benedictions, taken down on the Amur:

585 "If god gives happiness, they will live out their time
782 happily. If there is no happiness, they will live out their time badly. O god, make the life of our children a happy one!"

After this the father or a clansman of the groom says /283/ the following prayer: "O god, make, make happy the time of our children, in order that we may live happily; to our life together give good fortune!"

585 Saying their benedictions, they sprinkle vodka in the
788 direction of the heavens and in all directions. Before actually
(782) setting out they go through a ceremony which bears the designation "stamping the kettle." It consists of the following. At the inner side of the threshold of the yurt there is placed a large Manchurian kettle with five little ears (for the feeding of dogs) from the bride price of the groom, and at the outer side a small kettle from the bride's parents. Upon going out of the yurt, the bride and the groom, one after the other, place one foot in the large kettle and the other foot in the small kettle, not treading on the threshold. This ceremony establishes a symbolic union of mutual nourishment and mutual friendship in the presence of the two female penates -- the "old woman-mistress of the threshold" and the "mistress of the crossbeam over the door."

/283 cont./

585 It is noteworthy that such a ceremony of "stamping the kettle"
788 takes place among the Tungus tribe of the "Negda," who since
171 olden times have concluded marriages with the Gilyak, from
177 whom they have undoubtedly borrowed the custom.

585 A year after the wedding the newlyweds, usually already
574 with a child, come to stay a little while with the wife's family,
788 and when they again depart they once more go through the ceremony of "stamping the kettle," only this time, instead of
kettles, they use cups.

593 The vicissitudes of marriage. Just as in our society, marriages
586 are not always happy. Since the consent of the woman to the
[584] marriage is not asked, and rarely does any girl resolve to disobey
the will of her parents, and very rarely do the parents yield to
the protests of their daughters, not backing down from their
decision even in the face of a threat of suicide, life after the
593 wedding is fraught with tragedies. Either a woman runs away
586 with her lover, or she runs away to her parents, especially in
837 the case of ill-treatment by her husband. In such cases the
husband often tries to take back the fugitive by force, and
otherwise he demands the return of the bride price. Since no
[691] one has a desire to part with something once it has become his
own property, litigations to recover the bride price are endless.
[123] During my wanderings among the Gilyak, who at first took me
to be one who had power, I had to listen to complaints concerning
593 the return of bride price in every settlement. They preferred,
586 however, to ask for the forcible return of the wife, which was
837 often done by the Sakhalin administrators with the favorable
177 assistance /284/ of the priests. The fact was that persons who
797 had lured away or abducted another man's wife appeared before
a missionary with the request to be baptized and married, in
order to guarantee themselves against the wife's being forcibly
taken back by her former husband. The missionary willingly
fulfilled such requests and gave them a marriage certificate,
which gave to her owner the right to a police order demanding
her return in case she was forcibly taken away. And this led
to tragedies. One such case deserves to be immortalized.

593 /284 cont./
586 From an Amur Gilyak named Tys', 22 years old and from the
837 settlement of Mkhyl', another Gilyak, Urgayn from Vayda,
177 stole the wife and went with her to the missionary Moskvitin.
797 The husband overtook them and began to beg the missionary
not to marry them, but he carried out the request of the abductor
for a certain bribe. Then the husband collected his clansmen
and took back his wife by force. The original abductor presented his marriage certificate to the police, who, for a bribe,
[762] ordered the woman to be returned to her lawful owner. It ended
[682] with the husband's shooting his wife and himself. They return
586 the bride price without litigation when the wife dies childless
soon after her wedding, or when she runs away because her
husband is poor and is not in a position to feed a wife, and,
finally, when a wife betrothed in childhood dies.

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117 Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak
(Extracts from Notebooks and Diaries)

I.

The Tribal and Clan Composition of the Population of the Lower Amur

[539] A legend. Long, long ago the Gilyak, the Orochi, and the Goldi were one people. They were born on one branch of an alder tree. The brother and sister did not know where to go. The sister said, "down to the earth," and was the first to descend.

[162] Settlement of Bulava. Due (Kugi /Ainu/) -- 35 people;
[103] one finds them also in Patu, Tebakh, and Mago. When three men came, they found one house of an Ulcha khal'a. Mongol -- khala -- Djakhsul came down from the Goldi village of Chol'chi (1896).

/285 cont./

117 Settlement of Mayya. 1) The clan of Yngin. His clan is
614 also in Vayr -- they are the masters of Vayr, but it happened that
103 one brother killed his brother, and then they separated and divided
the fire: "If friend kills friend, who will be born?" 2) The Beldy clan are former Goldi who came down three generation ago. 3) The Polmk clan. Gilyak from the river near Mikhaylovskiy. They have been living here for five years (1896).

Settlement of Mongol'. The Valdzu clan from the village of Val' Orosugbu -- from the same village where the wars were. Dz:aj from the village of Dzhay.

The Valdzu are four generations /kolena/ from Uval'-khotin on the Sungari -- Solodo. When they arrived here, they found only the Sigdyli (narni) clan, but these all died out (1896).

Settlement of Koyma on the upper Amur. 1) The Choril came from Tro -- one to Kol', a second here, a third somewhere else. 2) Bajal -- the Manchu or Solodo clan from Kozima. The Bajal seem to be the first who lived here; later on they were called to Kizi, and then they came back and they were given a starosta.

[167] Settlement of Geri. Kern -- khal-Dea. Runaway Chinese
[563] came here on a raft during a war and attached their raft by a
hook, formed a clan of their own, and then became Gilyakified. Later the Manchu came, confirmed the name of this clan, and appointed starostas. Dua-Tvanbfing (Pat) Ajumka from Tymifing.

117 /286/ Settlement of Puli. Samagil -- two generations from
103 the Gorin. The father of the informant raised reindeer. 2) Tumuli --
173 from Dzhongli, near the Perm ones; Goldi.

Settlement of Ukhta. Tyvl-fing -- inhabitants of Tyvl' -- Ulcha clan (Ulcha khala). They left for Kol' and formed Tyvlfing, but came back by way of Lake Chlya (a three-day trip) -- "six fathers since we came back," i.e., six generations ago. 2) Dea -- burn their dead; ancestors of the narni, went down to Kol' and came back as Gilyak. Dea -- Kern-khal. Dzhatala -- the settlement of Udyli.

/286 cont./

117 Settlement of Mykhyl'. Ygna (Langr) -- Kugi from Rui (now
103 Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin).
173 Settlement of Lyyvo (third *pad'*). Dea to Koyma, pure Ornyr
(Ulcha from Sakhalin), came "long, long ago."

Settlement of Akhcha. Arkhong kugi (Ainu). Came to the Goldi and formed one clan with them (they gave to a Goldi the wife of a dead brother). They, however, live in Tebakh, from which they came to Akhcha five generations ago, as well as to Chil'mi.

117 Settlement of Tyl'mi. Khok-khal was taken into Kern-
103 khal on account of the war (before the arrival of Russians). Khok-
173 khal killed Kalmfing, an inhabitant of Kal'ma, over a woman.
628 Khok-khal was small. Then the murderer said to his kinsmen:
682 "There are few of you; leave me, let them kill me." The
Kal'ma people came and surrounded the house. He got through a
chumashka with kaluga /*Huso douricus*/ oil. Then an old man
opened a window for him, and he jumped out; the brother killed
him from behind with a spear, but he managed (before that) to
kill another with an arrow, and again a *casus belli*. It was then
that the Kern-khal adopted Khok-khal and gave it its widow; they
broke the fire and bought a bear.

117 Settlement of Tvarvo at the mouth of Petrovskiy Bay. The
103 Alrong clan -- Kugi (Ainu), which several generations ago mi-
614 grated here from the south. This clan is also in Tebakh.

Another clan, Narlaf, came from Nyura two generations ago (1896).

117 In Taura, Chil'ba, and Tyr -- the Goldi and the Negda speak
103 their own language. If the father is Goldi and the mother Gilyak,
191 each of the parents speaks to the children in his own language,
and the children speak both languages.

In the family of the Gilyak Kando the children for the most part speak Goldi, the easier language (1896).

117 Settlement of Tyr, Tyri. Khal Khok (Hőinchá) came here
103 and departed. Six generations of it live here. According to a
173 legend, a long, long time ago its clan (Chukchajl on the Amgun)
[614] came from the upper reaches of the Amur. The leading party

/286 cont./

117 went to the Amgun and left a sharpened stick (chjakh-varadz:,
103 Gilyak gesams'a, geskha narni); the second party did not /287/
173 notice and traveled to Chkharbakh (Turkhung), while the third
party did not like the fast current of the Amgun and it settled
in Gok.

After the Chinese, Tyr was inhabited by the Kojma-fing
[173] /see Koyma above/. This was at the time when "the pike lived
on land and the snake in the water; the pike used to bite, and
war was declared on it with a net, arrows, and so forth. Then
the god decided that the pike should live in the water and the
snake under the stones." After this the Kojma-fing left for Koyma.

117 Settlement of De, one kilometer from Tyr. 1) Khal
103 Ajumka. 2) Khal Samakhajl. 3) Khal N'askhajl.

361 Settlement of Khok (one and a half kilometers from Tyr).
1) Kalm-fing -- Gilyak. 2) The Udan clan (Khan'gan -- forty years
of age) -- Negda; moved from the Amgun, and it had come to
the Amgun from Udyli.

Settlement of Kal'ma at seven and a half kilometers from
[162] Tyr. Three Chinese; one of them married to a Gilyak woman
One Kugi from Kosunaya has already lived here 20 years; he is
not married, "no money to buy a wife."

117 A khal living here is a mixture of the Chokchagil and the
582 Ainu khal'a of Dmitriya in Tyr. They make chédzigr (see below)
and select their wives from the Olcha and the Gilyak; there are
women from the Amgun as well. At the present time they may not
take women from the Chokchagil. They can take two sisters.
They may not exchange women between clans. Here they may
take widows as well. The daughter is given to the wife of the
brother in order to be sold, but he cannot demand this. At the
bear festival anyone can shoot at the bear (1910).

117 Settlement of Dal'dzha. -- A Negidal clan. Originally
103 the Ry-Negda lived in Dal'dzha, 30 kilometers from here. They
173 all died (only one girl remained). They lived at a winter en-
[539] campment. Once upon a time, in summer, a tiger appeared
before the entrance. They attempted to get out of the yurt, but
could not. Finally they got out by stepping over the tiger. Then

117 /287 cont./
103 they saw in their dreams that during the daytime when no one
173 was present the tiger slept with the little girl. Six times he slept,
539 six times "a boy was born." Then they argued and separated in
different directions, Four generations have lived here. The Tyr
branch adopted the Kugi. The Goldi also have their clan (1896).

117 Settlement of Kuk, ten and a half kilometers from Kal'ma.
103 Chilba-khal (Goldi) -- speak Gilyak and bury their dead in the
361 ground (1896).

Settlement of Tkhnalo (two kilometers from Kuk). Kern-khal (it is also in Tauro, Tyl'ma, and Takhta; 1896).

Settlement of Kabachi (three kilometers from Tkhnalo). Kern-khal, Takhta-fing, Chalym-fing (1896).

117 Settlement of Takhta (four kilometers from Kabachi). 1)
614 The former Khydz:yr clan. One family speaks Gilyak; they bury
[103] their dead. 2) The Choz'm clan /288/ (from chozmudz: -- to
[361] peck in a flock, like birds) Nag: ramlandz: (nag: -- lair and fish
milk) came together. The Choz'm are poor people. They quarreled
with some Gilyak and entered into a clan union with another clan
and merged into one clan. Choz'm also live in Kal'ma. There
are also Choz'm (1) in Pilavo. The Tvan-fing and the Chilba-fing
have Goldi laws and language. Kalma-fing. This khal is to be found also in Chil'mi and Khez'; they seem to have come from Pilavo. Kern-khal came from Tyl'mi; two Manchu, woman and a man, were sailing on a raft and shouted: "sinch arikhal munydz:ná? which clan will draw me up on the bank?" They were seized with hooks on the raft.

117 Settlement of Chil'ma. Chilma-fing from Pilavo, near
103 northern Sakhalin. One clan of Chilma-fing is from northern
614 Pilavo. Three brothers: one went south (Pilavo); another came
here; the third went to the Goldi (1896).

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1. See below, "A Legend about Pilavo," 1910.

/288 cont./

117 103 Settlement of Pilavo-khez' (five kilometers from Chil'mi). In this settlement exclusively the Pilavyng clan (1910).

Settlement of Khez'. Exclusively the Pilavyng clan.

117 103 162 Settlement of Tebakh (Tevkh in Gilyak). Three yurts in all, about 30 persons. The Arkhong clan -- Ainu; came from Kosunaya on the Pronga and set *takh* -- a sharpened stick; from behind came a man, and the stick fell in the direction of Iski. The Arkhong clan is to be found most of all in Tebakh, further in Akhcha, Chil'mi (one house), and in Iski (1910). The Ignan together with the Arkhong who live in Akhcha constitute one clan: in Akhcha -- the Goldi half, -- the other half in Tebakh, (1896).

117 103 Settlement of Machala, opposite Khez'; two yurts of Negidal (1910). In 1896 the Khez'-ping and the Negidal (Ry) lived here.

117 103 162 614 Settlement of Pachi (Bachi). Twenty-two families, about 100 souls. Nine Russian houses and two Uigryf. In it, the clans: 1) Tva-bing (Tva was the settlement beyond Mkhyl' near Pat). 2) Aimkan live in Plakh (Pilavo), below Mariinsk. They used to live on the Amgun, but the brothers fought and several brothers left for Plakh, taking a piece of the fire -- *tuur rodzz* -- "to make a fire." There they became Ornyr, and then, a long time ago, in the times of the Japanese, they migrated from Korsakov to Tevkh and Kal'vo. There are two old *lezing* here, and also one in each of the following places: Kaki, Mago, Vasin Cape, and Tamlavo. 3) Pyri-fing clan (two yurts), an old village opposite Kal'vo. In the past, a long time ago, Amgun lived here. The green pine forest -- Tuuz; in Ukhta -- the Olcha (1910).

117 103 162 Settlement of Nykikh Khez'bin (one from Pilavo), on the channel Nyy Machalá. About 20 Gilyak here, and also Amgun N'askhagil, who in Gilyak are called N'as'khon. Two from Pilavo settled here in the last ten years (1910).

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117 Settlement of Kai'ga (the Gilyak K:aivo). Two clans:
103 1) Four yurts Lezing-ran-tya-bing (from lezing + tan, -- master).
614 The Lezing-ran are a Tva-bing generation (hyn'izlykh hyz'i).
They caught many bears and had a large lezing. They quarreled
while still in Tva and left long ago for Tamlvo. Now they
are in Eg:li (Yali) and in Mago. 2) Pyrifing; three Lezing and
three Uigryf (1910). One woman, Ry -- urngu -- female
Negidal. 3) Lezgrang from the Sakhalin Tamlvo. 4) The
Pyrifing Ornyr came from above; the oldest clan is here. 5)
Narmlang from above, near Khabarovsk; the Goldi (1896).

Settlement of Mokraya (Mokhrvo). Clans: 1) Narmlang
(Ornyr:) -- Pyrifing (Ygdymsyl from Kizf, where there are many).
Here, three houses of them; they have lived here for four gen-
[162] erations. 2) Lezgrang -- one house, 17 persons. All of the Gilyak
seem to have come from the Amgun (hynk) and settled down on
the Amur. One Uigryf (1910).

Settlement of Mago. Clans: 1) Mot'-tan (Ornyr:); 2) Lezgrang (one house); 3) Naromlang; one house, three families (1910).

Clans: 1) Lezgrang, 2) Pyrifing, 3) Tyvlafing, 4) Hutyvikh, from the Tym' River, 5) Narmlang, 6) Pnarnung (1896).

Yoom-bal' -- a mountain six and a half kilometers above Vaydy; in former times Gilyak from the settlement of Yoom lived here. On the left bank of the Amur, beyond Yoom, there is a small bay, and beyond it a high bank with bare white k:aned'zh dzif (limestone) (1910).

Settlement of Vayr (Vaydy); in 1896 there were three clans: 1) Keg:n, 2) Hirlung (Hirlung and Shafping), 3) Lumr-ping. Now only 12 Ornyr, 10 Gilyak, 17 Hirlung (see also below), 13 Shafping, and 7 Lumr-ping are left. The Keg:n -- Olcha are from the settlement of Aur; four generations are in Vayr. There were three brothers; the eldest brother took a Hirlung wife; he was followed

/289 cont./
117 by two brothers. The Keg:n -- came from southern Pilavo. Re-
103 cently arrived Olcha are here also; the starosta arrived here 12
614 years ago. The Keg:n arose from the Goldi from Sofisk and the Ainu from Kryus-pal', their ancient settlement (1896). The Shafping are Amgun from Dal'dzhi; many many generations ago their fathers spoke Amgun. The Hirlung are the old inhabitants. Their clan is in Chil'bi and Kekhrvo (the Orochi). The Chilbifing are the Ornyr from Kekhrvo -- the Lumr-ping came from Udyl' (Hurulong in Gilyak). There is no more of this clan in any other place (1910).

They came to be one clan in the following fashion: An Olcha married a Keg:n widow, and then he bought a bear for a dead man. Without taking a woman, it is impossible to become a (common) clan. When the clans united, they had one Lezing and one Uigryf ("sinning" house, i.e., forbidden.

[361] Settlement of Yali (Eg:li), four kilometers below the settlement of Mokraya; seven yurts. Clans: /290/ 1) Lezing-ran (one house); 2) Chilng-fing (Kedu'-Orel' -- lake), probably Negidal; 3) one family from N'anivo (1910).

Amng-khal, Narmlang, Jarli-fing (Goldi from the Khungari), Jegni and Njenkhajfing. With regard to the origin of the last clan, there is the following legend. One Goldi brother wanted to take off the or (see below, the settlement of Kol') from a girl, and another suggested killing her. The killer left for N'enkha (near Nikolayevsk).

117 Settlement of Kaki (13 kilometers from Vaydy). Before
103 the epidemic there were 20 houses here; 5 yurts. Three
731 Russians, one Uigryf. Clans: 1) Tvabifing -- 14 persons. 2)
173 Amng from the Amgun: only three persons were left, the rest
[361] died. Three houses died out during the last epidemic (1910).
3) Kegnang from Choma, 4) The Tvan-fing. One old man says that he is down from the Goldi, another from the Ul' River near Avra. 5) Amn-khal -- Goldi; they came from above; the first master of this village; this is the oldest khal. In the past this was a large khal but then all of its inhabitants died out (1896).

117
103 Settlement of Chkharbakh. Torkhung-khal (1896).

/290 cont./

117 Settlement of Tebakh, a village some 20 years ago (1896).

103 Vas'. Cape Vasin. 1) Levkh-ping. The cape lies next to
614 Nálevo; 2) Derkhr-vun (1896).

Kuklya and Meo. The first master of the village before the
[162] Russians was the Keg:n clan; now nine persons are left; they live in Vas' (1896). Meo-fing, from Khayma above Bogorodskoye (1896).

Settlement of Kol'. Clans: 1. Miera-fing. Miera -- the oldest *khal* -- this Chvunung *khal* (Larun) came from the north from the Ali River (a two-day walk from Shantar -- Kyvrmif); then the *khal* separated, and part of it went to Sakhalin (Larun,
[133] Ylevut). It takes women from the khovnung. The Ali is a river as broad as the Amur. A long, long time ago Y'lur and Gilyak were one *khal*. They heard that the Aleut, too, raise dogs and hold the bear festival. 2. Tigr tor ping. A man sailed on a *hovykh* (raft) down the Amur. The Machinskiye Gilyak caught
[582] him and brought him here in a boat. Takes women from the Perkhvung. 3. Kedz:ung (from Petakha) -- takes women from the Khovnung. 4. Perkhvung (from Sakhalin). Takes women from the Khovnung. 5. Nynkhaj-fing and Khovnung from the settlement of Kyr beyond Sofisk where the Nynkhay River is (they came from there -- *chinirokh*). There is here in Kol' one *khal* from Khovnung. It takes women from the Langr. 6. Khovnung (Goldi). Two brothers quarreled and decided to divide the *or* -- chain and stone on the little girl of one of the brothers, and then killed her.
[582] They have an Ainu dagger with a silver handle. Take women from the Snarnung. 7. The Snarnung take women from the Perkhrvung. 8. The Tyvliing -- from Ukhtr, near Sofisk (Ornyr). Takes women from the Perkhvung.

/291/ The old man Nashg (86 years of age): his clan has lived here for at least 150 years, in his opinion, eight generations. At the present time his *khal* is Snarnung. His ancestor came from the Amgun; at the mouth of the Amgun he set up a post, but it fell down. He traveled with his family to Lake Chlya and crossed to here. Now his clan is on the Amgun -- N'as'khajl. He came on foot. He also broke the fire. He bought the Tyyv River (a tributary of the Kol') by exchanging his sister for it (1896).

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II.

A Legend about Pilavo (1)

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1. Recorded in the settlement of Takhta in 1910. Pilavo is four settlements: two on Sakhalin, one Khez'-Pilavo, and Yky, the Goldi settlement near Khabarovsk. The inhabitants there still burn their dead, and there is a bear festival. The terrain is identical in all four villages.

539 On the north of Sakhalin a father had many children. During the sharing they quarreled over a stone with a hole, or:, which, on a silver chain, is put on the breast of a bride. One brother said: "You have divided everything, now give the stone to me." He put it on the neck of his daughter, and through the night it was not possible to take it off. The others said: "Daughters are not of our clan, they leave to marry, how can one leave them such an expensive article?" The eldest brother: "We consider only sons, daughters are not ours. You can make as many children as you wish, but you cannot find such stones." After this the eldest brother always wanted to kill the little girl, while the younger brother guarded. The younger brother became angry and ran away from the south of Pilavo to the north. There was a famine. During the most severe famine they killed a seal, they killed a small seal. They boiled it, they divided it up into pieces, they ate it, and the bones remained. The children began to chew, to fight. One of the brothers came up and began to beat the son of another brother on the "mug" with the same bone: "You, dog, take it, gorge!" and he was beating the youth. The youth began to cry. His father was not at home. The mother stepped in for her son, and the mother got it. In a little while the father arrived. The mother complained to her husband, and a fight took place.

[A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

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After that they began to divide things up, they divided things up. "I feel bad about leaving my village, I shall look for the same kind of place as Pilavo." He crossed the estuary; there was no such place. He began to ascend the Amur, found Khez', which is a place similar to Pilavo, and called it Pilavo. Nykikh Mountain, where they gather berries and roots, is in northern Pilavo. Opposite Tebakh he found an island which looked like a hill; he called it Nykikh and settled his kinsmen there. /292/ Such a village is still in existence. They lived and multiplied; their children grew up and became "peasants." There was a whole village in Khez', and on Nykikh, also a whole village. On Nykikh there were few people.

During the greatest flood a strange person was sailing down the current on a boat made out of 12-13 wooden boards that were nailed together. They sailed out from Nykikh and caught this man, and attempted to talk, but he understood nothing. This man was about 30 years of age. They fed him and took him in. He lived with them for about a year. He began to work, to do what they showed him. He began to understand Gilyak. No one knew who this man was or from where he had come. When he learned Gilyak well, they began to ask him questions. They called him Man'chko. -- "Where did you come from, not be afraid, tell the whole truth!" -- "I fell in love with a woman and wanted to marry her; she was betrothed by others. They came and took her away from me. It was a good thing that I was not at home. They took her away, carried her away while I was absent. This bridegroom was always watching out for me. I, too, was watching out for him, to meet him in single combat, either I him or he me. I heard that he was about to go into the taiga to hunt. Several days later two people with their goods on sleds loaded with all sorts of equipment rode past our village. My people immediately started in: 'Your enemy (chin orgop n'ivukh).' I was very offended, and people were laughing, and he was passing through our village as if to laugh at me. I took it, however. Several days after their departure, I collected my arrows and my club (mucho), as long as a man's height -- the lower end similar to a brake, only longer, [A Legend about Pilavo] Amur

/292 cont./

and the other end stretched out and sharp. What to do next? Arrows, a knife, and a club. I rode out after him and found his encampment; I also found another encampment. They had gone on foot into the taiga. It all happened in summer. I did not know if they had gone far, or where and when I would encounter them. On the third night I found the actual encampment. Should I attack at night? I would be ashamed if I, a man, killed or wounded somebody by stealth. Better if I had a good night's sleep and rest and went in the daytime to their encampment with my club. I would ask that someone come out and fight me man to man. I had my rest. I spent the night near their encampment and thought: 'If two of them attack me, I shall not settle with them' (that is what he thought)." In the morning he got up and went to them: Let happen what may. A single man does not have to be afraid. If they kill him, well and good -- "ixa' igra' idif tugut." He then went up to their balagans. "Well, my good friend, come out! This is the end of your laughing at me! But man to man with a club. And this will put an end to our lying in wait for one another." That one said: "I took my own, not yours. You should not have pursued me, nor lain in wait for me. /293/ If you want to try yourself with me, why not? Since you are relying upon yourself, do you want to teach me a lesson or laugh at me? Your bones are not made of iron, but just like mine -- meat!" But Man'chko said: "You are a man, not a woman, how long are we going to howl at each other? Come out or I will shoot."

That one, willingly or unwillingly, came out, and they began to fight with clubs. After a while that one hit Man'chko in the elbow. Man'chko felt that his arm worked badly. "You are a strong lad, you have maimed me right away." The friend of Man'chko's enemy stood to see who would win? The enemy said to Man'chko: "People do not behave this way, enough laughing!" Man'chko aimed a blow at his head, but missed. That one hit Man'chko and again got the elbow. Man'chko thought: "I am in a bad plight." The other friend who was

[A Legend about Pilavo]

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539 standing there laughed and said: "You traveled such a long distance, how will you now go back without arms and legs?" Of course it hit home; he felt pain and was ashamed and thought: "It is true, that is the way it will come out; even if one arm is still all right, why did I travel such a distance?" He drew his knife with his right hand and dealt first one blow, then another; that one fell down. His friend said: "You are not fighting according to the rules. We do not fight this way, do not wound him again and it is enough." Man'chko then turned his back, went back; he spent two nights on the road. He came home and said nothing. The others began to ask him questions. Man'chko said: "I have done what I had to, you do not have to ask me about it, I alone am responsible, you will not have to answer for me, though you are with me I will not blame you (ching n'igrigir ching dakhch khejlo)." In several days I heard that the hunters had come out. He was very sick. Man'chko thought to himself: "There is no one to defend me. He has kinsmen and in-laws (óragu); if he gets well again, they will kill me, throw me out like a dog; I cannot live here. It will be better for me to move away. May the devil take them, the women! It will be better for me to move away."

It turned out that Man'chko was from Gorin (Gyr), of the Samagir clan. He took an ax, an arrow, and a club and went hunting. He set out to tramp in the taiga and walked and walked through the taiga. He came to a creek and began to make a raft (t'om). If there is a fast current in this creek, I will go wherever it will carry me. Perhaps I will come to some village. He made a raft, descended, got on the raft, and without an oar, without anything, pushed off from the bank. The current carried him downstream very fast. He was floating downstream wherever it was taking him. Will I reach living people? I thought and floated. In a few days -- a village, a dog's voice was heard. Soon I will come to the village, maybe someone will take me off the raft. It did not go up to the village; the water bore it past the village, and there was nothing to eat. Without oars it was impossible to beach it.

[A Legend about Pilavo]

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539 Here I am, floating downstream. I floated through a night, floated another day. From this creek I went into the Bol'shoy Amur. A breeze came up, the raft was being carried fast, the rose-willow bushes were flashing past. The wind came up. My raft began to shake (break up), t'om herongdokh-herongdokh gudz: lar: z'ar: (water is splashing through the openings in the raft). What a fool I am! When I heard the dog barking, I should have shouted and someone would have taken me off the raft. Now I will perish for nothing. I began to pray to the god. I began to strengthen the raft with a belt and a sash. There was no rope. Suddenly it began to get light. Before the dawn, dogs started to howl. As soon as I heard the dogs' voices, I began to shout with all my might. The fog began to pass away, and I saw that the bank was near. The current, however, was carrying me fast. Suddenly before me there was a kind of a wooden barrier stretching across the Amur. God will that I come upon that wooden barrier so that I shall not be carried any farther. Suddenly the raft did come up against the barrier. When the raft stopped, the water hissed over the raft; it began to submerge. There was nothing to do. I took my belongings, club, arrows, and hung them on the barrier; I then climbed on it and sat down. From time to time I shouted and shrieked, and suddenly a boat is coming straight for me, I see a man. Man'chko began to wave, shout, wave. That one came up to him and looked at him. Man'chko began to speak to him in his native tongue; "Take me home with you." That one did not understand anything. Man'chko then approached him and gave him his club, his arrows, and his garments. That one took them and let him into his boat, transported him, took him into his family, fed him, and he began to live with them.

The man who caught him was a Pilavyn (inhabitant of Pilavo) from Nykikh (Magulá?). Birch, aspen, spruce, and so forth were planted there. At that time the old men of the settlement had all died. The one they had caught joined them; they made him a k:khal (i.e., adopted him into the clan). His

[A legend about Pilavo]

/294 cont./

539 generation has now all died out. They bore children and multiplied (Takhta -- two yurts, Kabachi -- two yurts, Chilma -- eight families, Khez' -- all Pilavyn. They bore children and multiplied and built a large isba -- about 15 sagenes (1) (three ordinary ones); he lived there. All the Pilavyn (inhabitants of Pilavo) lived in this crowded yurt, while the others lived in another yurt. They lived richly, made trips to Japan, Manchuria (Saysin), and Korsakovsk, they bought Chinese women, female slaves for them (beyond Saysin), and also Ainu women and male and female slaves (krýgrys) for them; they lived very richly, they all had full wealth. Once there was a holiday. They boiled dog meat (formerly they ate dog meat). The children began to fight, the elders stepped in, and a fight broke out. It even came to knives. The old man Yuryng (from the Arkhong clan) came from Tebakh and reconciled them. After that, however, they would now and again get drunk on khan'shina and, once again, a fight. A full assembly was called (assembly -- vopud kymlydz), and /295/ the people began to divide things up. The workers had married, and their children were also slaves. First they divided the slaves, various things, and furs. One [103] brother, together with his slaves, set off up the Amur: "I shall look for a place like Khez' (formerly it was called Pilavo, in the Chinese books it was called Tajrâ, and in Goldi daj gasâ -- large village). Their nickname was hes′-pilavo from the word hes′ -- gullet, because they fight over their gullet and not over serious things. He stopped near the Goldi settlement of Yky (the settlement of Sarapul'skoye). Yky was inhabited by the ancient Gilyak emigrants from the settlement of Pilavo on Sakhalin. They bore children and multiplied and now not many of them are left. They still burn their dead.

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1. I.e., about 30 meters.

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III.

Legends about the Past

173 In connection with the excavations (1), the old man Toyon said: "These are Korean. Long, long ago there was a war. Formerly Koreans lived here; then the Chinese came and drove them out.

"Long, long ago the Chinese lived in Puir on the Amur. The Chinese pursued them and shot at them with a cannon.

"There were at that time few Gilyak. By a cape on a hillock near the very village (Langr) they placed a cannon (the hole remained) and shot at the Russians around the boulder stones in the bay of Puir (Pakhzyr boulder stones). The hole on the hill is almost overgrown; formerly it was four meters deep and surrounded with stones. The cannon ball made the forest burn for eight nights; a lane was created. The cannon ball was found in Kol' -- four people cannot lift it."

According to a legend, 28 skulls were seen by the lake, which "at night cried and went to drink water; now all the water has dried up," "vessel dry up," i.e., is lost.

One old man assures us that within his memory and the memory of his father the Gilyak and their neighbors have occupied the same places since olden times. The Manchu (the Chinese, Manzy) have come here since the Russian War. They did not build large towns; they settled in groups of one or two houses, and only in Tyr, Akhcha, and Mykhyl' did they have guards. Their governor lived in Tyr.

[648] [167] With the appearance of the Manchu, during the war with the Russians, the Gilyak left by sea for Sakhalin and other places, but upon the departure of the Manchu, they began to come back.

1. Which Shternberg carried on.

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173 [648] According to a different version, when part of the inhabitants ran away and another part was captured, three persons (two men and one woman) saved themselves, /296/ who killed two suns. When they came back, they found mountains where the Amur had been, and they went back (from Shul'gin Khokfing, 80 years old).

The Manchu fought with the Russians who had come down; in the spring during the run of the hump-backed salmon, some Russians hid themselves in the taiga, and they could not be found.

The Russians from the Amur saved themselves on the Amgun; the Manzy pursued them, but unsuccessfully. Then a Chinese general asked the god for snow, and snow fell knee deep, and they found the Russians by their tracks and slaughtered them.

After the war with the Russians, the Chinese set up a post on the upper Amgun (the Burukhan) -- "while the post stands, the Russians are not allowed to pass." Now the post has fallen down.

On the Amgun there is also a mountain, "Namnakhan," 19 kilometers below Guga, with hoof prints. This is where the Manchu spent one night during the war with the Chinese.

There is a stone kettle and a boot on the cliff "Gulyakhan," the storehouse of the Shadrinkskiy mines.

According to a legend a Manchu inscription is preserved on one of the mountains.

The guides of the Chinese on the Amgun were Negidal from the clan Umkan, while on Lake Orel' -- N'as'khajl.

The Russians roasted children on their bayonets and ate their meat; they cut off women's heads (1896).

173 648 A legend has been preserved about the way in which the Amur natives fought the Russians. Once the Manchu pursued the Russians, but left a part. The Russians, on their way back, decided to attack Tyr, thinking that they were Manzy. The Gilyak placed stones on wooden boards and fastened them. When the Russians came up to the cliff, they let go of the rope, and all the Russians perished except one who started to swim; he was caught, and the Kern-khal handed him over to the Arn-khal, who held a bear festival in the taiga.

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173 648 The following case occurred in Macha (the left bank of the Amur), opposite Kal'ma. The Gilyak set out to hunt and built a balagan; coming back they saw a great number of people. Then they ran away undetected, gathered together people from all the villages, and set up ambuscades in different places behind the rose-willow trees. When the Russians came out, they shot them all.

Sometimes the Gilyak used the following method of fighting: They tied a cut tree trunk in such a way that it leaped out and struck the legs, and the enemies fell; then they completely killed them off (the settlement Kaki).

Recollections have also been preserved about the relationship between the Chinese /297/ officials and the Amur natives. The Goldi even paid for dogs, the Gilyak -- per person; the Chinese officials collected by whim, and their khalki (boats) with people had to be fed. In exchange for this, they gave receipts which gave one the right of entry into the town of Sungari (Ychkh-khotin). Otherwise the natives would be tortured in the town. The storyteller, a Samagil, in his youth went without a receipt; he said that they paid 40 rubles for a fodder /kormovogo/ man and 20 rubles for an ordinary person, and one sable from each person.

IV.

The Union of Clans and the Bear Festival

614 796 Two clans come together -- k:khal m'ek:r: vytch. They come together in a single yurt; outsiders may also be present. They discuss, and, if there are no obstacles (for example, they have not taken wives from one another), the khlaj nivukh declares that the two clans may join into one. The other representative answers: "It is true, we have accomplished great things together; you also helped us, and we also helped you. Once we form one clan, we shall become k:khal." He says: "There are no obstacles. Our sons and daughters will be our brothers,

/297 cont./

614 but we have daughters and in-laws, and it is necessary that
796 everybody know, and therefore necessary that we should celebrate a common bear festival." Each k:khal should buy one, or better, two-three-four bears. They agree. They buy a bear and prepare mos'. The bear is fattened as fat as possible; they feed it about two years; they prepare mos' and buy racing dogs. The time for the festival finally arrives: they play games, wrestle, then kill the bear. Before the killing of the bear, an old man is selected -- he does not have to be the bear's master; he is the nga khez'-ni'vukh; he cannot decline. He says the word to the bear: "Chi pilá pal' urgur p'ach adz: kukujá pkhylava:r chajpidugujá!" -- thou, big mountain (mountain man), shake off well our Gilyak dust. Turn around so that I can see you."

They killed it, cut up its meat (the bones must not be broken), brought it into an isba, and boiled the meat. They compete in a "race" -- vardz:. They call together both clans, men and women, and distribute the bear meat to all. As a rule, the elder consults with the master on how to divide the bear. The main bones are the two tibial bones -- tereng, and the two pelvic ones -- pyjkh. The tibial and the pelvic bones are given
[688] to the most honored persons. It is a sin to give the head and the
614 kidneys to the young people, the kidneys are very important. The
796 khlaj n'ivukh then says: "K:khal m'ekh:r: ólagu k:khálgu
539 umguólagu umgugu-tokh itdz: furará; navat m'er: chuz'n'akhr: ngar: /298/ n'akh:r: munakhana. K:khal itdz: furará: "umgu n'i ó:la, utku n'i ó:la, umgu n'anak, n'i n'anak, n'i nanak'ar. Nafkhá-chi n'anak furará navát, chiagr. Ni ykyn furará n'an ch'ach'ek munakhana." Another representative answers: "Agitlá, pilymra siktumù mer: vará tyngyztá ching ag:yr: ningrota, ningagr vara chingrodá, n'ishak lyt k:khal, k:khal munakhaná." "To the children of the two clans, to the clans to the little girls and the women I say: 'Now we shall become common meat and common blood.'" The clan speaks thus (1): (Every) woman is my

1. Evidently, one representative of a clan to another.

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child (daughter), (every) man is my child (son), a woman -- an elder sister (also aunt) is my sister (my aunt). Now thou, comrade, art called sister; thou, too. I am an elder brother, but I shall now also become your younger." "Of course. We all equally did great things together. You also helped us and we also helped you equally. Once we have formed a clan, we shall become a clan.

"Elder (i.e., the person chosen for the distribution of the meat; he may be young)! Think well; do not give the good to big girls, to big sisters (aunts), or to sons-in-law /zyat'ya/. Give much to the big people, less to the little girls, feed the kidneys to the big old man of the clan, serve the head; distribute the back fat equally, do not share unequally. Give the tibial bone to the elder sons-in-law, give the pelvic bone to the sons-in-law. "Pilynga urgur kymlyjá, umguolagu pilý, nanakagŭ pilý, ok:ongú-tokh urlý chus´ ngokh ta rozgujá, pila n´ivukhdokh malg:ógur khet´ijá umguolagudokh khiskioguja! K:khalgu pila, hejmartokh, tafut jarjá k:orkh khet´ijá. Tereng pily okhomdokh khitirá, pyjkh n´yn´yv póradokh khet´ijá, mur:k ngokh vará rozjá ta rozgujá..."

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After preliminary consultation, a certain person finally brings in the bear and hands it over to the important person, who then, in the presence of several urdla n´ivukh (good people), inquires: "Why?" The person who brought in the bear answers: "I want to enter into ceremonial brotherhood." "All right,"

[606]
Next k:khal are consulted without him. During the festival the new clansmen buy dogs and prepare food. During the eating the son-in-law says analogous things, while the fathers-in-law call him father-in-law, brother-in-law, etc. At the end of the festival they give the adopted one their own flints -- tugur:, but they do not give him the real uig tuur (the tabooed fire). There are no more than two or three uig tuur in a village. They light the fire at a bear festival; on a hunt only the urdla n´ivukh takes it when he goes for bear.

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614 796 606 627 A bear festival is held also for other reasons, /299/ for instance, for reconciliation with one's son-in-law /zyat'/, k:khal or alien. If a person offends his son-in-law, for example, in making a purchase, he keeps silent, and the k:khal keeps silent, but they will continue to sulk until a bear festival is held by the offender for reconciliation (urla lytnydz).

796 415 A bowl, hyl, for the head is necessary for each new bear festival. The head of the bear is always placed in a new bowl, while the old one is used for meat and the like. Anyone can prepare a dish for the bear festival. The bowl for the meat is bound with the penis of the bear. A bowl from which the bear is fed for the last time in the yurt, and always on the side opposite the door, is called pukstov-n´ir.

796 43 [231] When a brother gives his sister a bear as a gift, he himself is not permitted to bring it; he must come after it with pomp. The bear is greeted with zadz-chadz music. When the master feeds his bear for the last time, he says to it: "U´rur humyjá! Wingan úrur humyjá--live well! When you go, live well."

The gift giver does not shoot the bear and departs as soon as the festival is over, without even tasting (a morsel), while he must bring with him mos' and all kinds of dishes.

796 When a bear falls sick, then they hold pyling-tvysk and prepare uig, mos', from all sorts of delicacies and all sorts of berries.

Luk: -- a dog which has been born specially for the uig.

[782] [184] When a dog is sacrificed, its skin, head and bones are laid in a wooden frame near the lezing where the bones of the bear are placed. Some clans hang bear heads on trees. This place is called k:ork ngangof.

V.

Slaves

567 [196] The son of a slave remains free to the neck (i.e., his head is free), his grandson -- to the belt, his great grandson -- to the feet; in the fourth generation -- the descendants are "pure." [683] [614] Then he is a k:khal, i.e., a kinsman of the master, and if anyone

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[567] [683] [614] calls him a slave, he can bring suit against them, and therefore when you ask the descendant of a slave what clan he is from, he replies quietly: "Pilavon k:khal purarã hokhagirn os″ krygrys" (1),

1. Krygrys -- an Ainu slave; akh -- a Chinese one.

i.e., that he is from the Pilavo clan, by origin a slave ("root [195] slave"). When people swear, they say: "You are pure only to your neck, while there you are impure."

/300/ If a krygrys bought himself free and his master had to give him a wife, an economy, and part with him, he would still be considered a krygrys, impure. Every krygrys was considered a k:khal, and, until he passed to a free state, he was avenged, and he participated in the sacrifices. A good krygrys [692] is given a share of his earnings -- he has the right to half of the income and can claim it through the courts -- of the khlajn″ivukh; older women have the right to participate in a trial (they are invited and have the right to come themselves if they feel sympathy for the slave). It is permitted to complain about beatings.

A krygrys woman cannot demand a share in court, because she is married. Nor can a share be demanded for her by her husband.

A Chinese slave, akh, has the same rights as the krygrys. [682] [614] A free one is kis[illegible]ygy n″ivukh ("pure"). The killing of a slave is punished by the clan. When drunk, they revile the murderer: "If you are a brave man, we have an elder beast (pal pila k:otr -- big mountain bear, mer edr: -- tiger), fight with him: it would have been better if you had killed a bear and treated us. We do not need brave men like you. You can only exhibit your courage in front of your wife." The women in particular attack him. Even at the present time, however, the descendants of the [162] krygrys are treated with condescension. In 1909 two yurts of former slaves still stood in Takhta.

[582] Slaves were most frequently acquired through the purchase of Ainu women, who received a male and a female slave as a

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567 [582] part of their dowry. In buying wives, the price corresponded to the additional slaves. In 1896 a former slave, about whom we have the following information, lived there. A Narni bought from Kizi a Kugi (Ainu) maiden, and an illegitimate child was born. Khuzin's father bought the son of this Kugi (krygrys) in [435] Kizi. He was 25 years old; he was paid for with nine pieces of silk material (21 meters) at 75 rubles a piece.

This worker served him for five years. Eighteen years ago he ran away to Kizi, and then to Arvo (near Nizhnetambovskiy). The name of this krygrys was Kutr. His former master from Khez' summoned him to conduct shaman ceremonies, and he used this opportunity to run away. Now he is an old man and blind. One absolutely must take him back, though blind, feed him, and bury him with their own hands, and then his soul will follow him to Mlyvo (his father, dying, requested this of him).

Chinese girls were bought in a similar fashion. It was necessary to take along 100 sables, 100 foxes, 100 otters, 100 squirrels, 100 polecats, between 10 and 100 black-brown foxes, 100 seals, and 100 bears. The travelers to Sansin were met by a merchant who would take away all their merchandise and, without counting it, would transport it to his warehouse. The visitors would be feted for two days and /301/ questioned in Goldi or through an interpreter. The newcomers would tell their hosts about their wish to get married, then they would record how much each had brought, and they would be taken to the governor. He would provide carriages and food, and they would be transported to the major city (Peking). They would be introduced and accommodated in the palace, assigned servants, fed and looked after like "gentlemen," and taken around the city with an interpreter. Finally whole rows of women with covers over their faces would be lined up in front of them; behind each woman would stand a castrated slave. The old Gilyak would recommend: "a young male slave -- an old woman -- a risk." They would choose right there; they would each be led to a room. A slave would sweep and spread out the bedding, and that very night he would learn his fate. They were painted. He sticks his tongue in the mouth; there are no teeth.

/301 cont./

567 They would journey back to Sansin with their wives and slaves; there each was given a one -- or many-masted boat, which was loaded with provisions for ten years, with garments, silks, and so forth, for the entire family. Upon their return the purchased wives would already be pregnant. If a daughter was born, they gave her a slave for her dowry. Those who came to Sansin only to pay their yassak /tribute paid in furs/ (one sable) received two combs, a piece of drel', ten bottles of khanshin and so forth. Ainu women were bought in this way: they went hunting, brought sables and so forth, and also Chinese goods, and bought wives on the way.

A woman who married into the Jusk'in clan received as a dowry from her father a female slave -- akh, who was provided with a Japanese sword for cleaning her mistress' soles. Then a Gilyak bought her in exchange for his own daughter. Poor fathers (generally) sold their daughters into slavery.

VI.

The Family and the Clan

595 Marriage norms and totemic clans. Clansmen-brothers may support one wife, but only one of them is regarded as the master, even though both together bought the wife; the second one enjoys marital rights only in the absence of the first.

If they have lived together for one year after another, a husband consults his elder wife as to whom else he should take. And she herself may travel to select a helper from her own khal or from an alien one, and the wives call each other sisters. A man sleeps separately, and each wife separately, or the man in the middle. The elder wife takes care of all the children. The younger cannot give orders to her, and she commands. It sometimes happens that they are jealous and fight. The following go to do the betrothing: 1) father and mother, 2) elder brother, 3) father's brother, 4) husband of father's sister.

/302/

595 58 A person can take two sisters as wives. Brothers may take widows without distinction. It is best of all to take a wife from the clan of one's mother, and then one can even get her for nothing, and even if a payment is required, it is less in any case. In the past one did not pay for a woman if she was from the clan of one's mother. It is not permitted to exchange women between clans. Here, too, one's daughter is given for sale to the wife's brother, but the latter cannot demand this.

582 There is a prohibition against the descendants of one's sister down to the fourth generation.

614 173 In Vaydy (see above) there are Gilyak of the Hirulung clan who have entered into a union k:khal n'akh:r: with the Khydzyr' in Chil'bi. Formerly, they lived together in the same locality and belonged to the clan of the tiger. There is a Gilyak clan which has become related to a snake (there are snakes on the Amgun; they were seen on the Amgun by Putyun) (1). There are also Goldi who are kin to snakes.

538 837 A young man from Vaydy fell in love with the wife of a Korean, a Gilyak woman, and enjoyed reciprocity. She went to the town with a fish; the Korean stayed to guard the potatoes. Then the lover went to the town. They met and spent two weeks in the town. She came home -- her mother also liked the Gilyak.

The Korean demanded that his wife sleep with him, but she resisted. At night the Gilyak woman ran outside and slept with the Gilyak. The husband gave her a beating; her mother and brothers tried to protect her; the Korean complained, why did he take a Gilyak woman. He killed the Korean (settlement of Mago).

[114]

1. In the text, "boa," but, judging by note 6 on page 222 in Materialy po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials on the Study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/, this is a mistake in the notes on the journey.

/302 cont./

578 Quarrels and methods of reconciliation. If a son-in-law /zyat'/
627 has beaten his brother-in-law /shurin, wife's brother/, he must
(present) a pack of racing dogs (three to five; they are sold only
in packs) -- kylyn k:an. The first dog is kyly-k:an, the second
-- k:akh, the third -- jerkhpe-k:akh, the fourth -- tyly-k:akh.
If the first is sold separately, all of them will be useless. They
are placed at a certain distance (10-15 paces) from one another
and in reverse order, namely, the first -- kyly-k:an -- last,
farthest away, and she must catch up with all of them and the
object is that all should come together at the same time, and,
[435] if the kyly-k:an arrives first, then it is not suitable. The cost
of a pack is up to [illegible] rubles. The son-in-law /zyat'/, in case of
[437] a fight with a bro[illegible]-in-law /shurin/, gives him such a pack of
dogs as a present, and, furthermore, he brings them himself or,
if he is ashamed, through another, and they cannot be returned,
[435] except if the dogs are poor. On the other hand, if a brother-in-
law /shurin/ offends a son-in-law /zyat'/, he gives for recon-
ciliation a silk robe (35-60 rubles) or a bear as a present.

578 614 627 /303/ Quarrels within the clan. N left his wife, received back his bride price, and began to carry on with Russians and so forth. The old men assembled and decided to take the woman back, but the father-in-law did not agree: "A woman is not a dog, to try and throw away." Nevertheless, she was purchased for a certain young man. Then N, in Khez', began to storm and threaten because they took his abandoned wife. But they replied to him: "You did not buy her yourself but with your father's money" (clan money). The matter ended by their giving a racing dog, fur, and two bottles of vodka.

695 685 825 The oath. Oath -- simbi chakhci lambe -- in Goldi, chkhyz´u nyydz:rá -- in Gilyak.

One must kill a wolf (lygyz´) and saw, in order, the tendons on both hind legs from the heel to the knee, and ask: "Where is the tendon for the thief? (ennikhrongz´? ennikh -- heel, tongz -- tendon), where is the stolen tendon? -- jeng:az´ tongz´ shamdzhna?" The tendon that twitches is taken out secretly and

/303 cont./

685 695 815 [825] [424] [614] dried and preserved until there is an argument about a theft. They seek a man who understands the oath -- chkhyz´u n´ivukh, and this gift is passed on by inheritance (now the best clan is the Chkhyzyl clan; Il'ya Tobonka from Chil'bi belongs to it). If outsiders try, then it is a great sin.

A thief frightened by the threat of the oath arrives in the village of the plaintiff with his khal'gu -- clansmen; they make a large fire on the bank.

The plaintiff and his people also come out to the campfire; he shouts: "Pryja´, mygja´, n´i heg:at pkhalgun polagun prydz:rá chigry´ tuur pugutá enan´ivukh, jugut prydókh kaukrá, par:k prydz:rá. Ni sidzymral´ó, sidz:jejmraló cherakh jot´in (prydz:rá) helá eg:ur pkhog:e jakhgujá," i.e., "Come, come down, I and my kinsmen are frightened, I came here with my children; a fire is lighted on your bank; no strangers came with me, we came alone (I do not know anything). I came to you to ask what is the matter (what is the guilt). Well, hurry up and tell me what is on your mind." That one sends an envoy -- khimu n´ivukh'a (a leader during war) with a spear, on which he leans instead of a crutch, and he begins to speak. The thief sends a khimu-n´ivukh'a. Nothing results, and it is necessary to take an oath. The visitors and the local people then arrange themselves on both sides of the fire. The "juror" is also present at this point. They argue: "Ni valchg:aj n´erakh elvg:az´ó -- if I lie, let it go badly for me."

The juror slowly begins to warm the tendon in the fire, the thief begins to twitch, and then he confesses (pyimdz). "Yrk pyimdz: vurará. Navat taktó jakhojló. Ching vark kymlyvé" -- "I confess, /304/ for what else can I do. Think about it yourselves." If it is a false accusation, then the real, absent thief would begin to twitch.

The victim is paid whatever he demands, and, if the thief is poor, the victim is given a woman. The juror is provided for at their discretion. The juror, when they take out the tendon, says to the crow and cat: "I do not know whether it is true or not, do not harm me, for you, too, do not know. If this

685 /304 cont./
695 actually is the perpetrator, let the harm be to him." "Ni tajorắ mykyslu jag:yd-lu ta-n´erokh tokh elyvgujắ. Chi narl´ăr: chan majg:okhanắ. Mykyz´ mra lytyng ivg:aj huktókh elyvg:az´o."
685 While they argue, a crow (ves´) and a cat are thrown into the fire
695 alive. If the crow caws, the man also caws and gets into the
825 fire. If the cat mews, so does the man.

An oath is performed for an inveterate criminal, wishing him death; the thief will twitch in any case. The crow and cat, while they are burning and still struggling in the fire, are told: "Chi tajrodz: furarắ n´ivykh lerý̆ mra chi unakhana uikhyndor hy nivukhdokh elyvgujắ." "You do not know, you will suffer for a petty offense (i.e., you will serve as an example to the Gilyak), following the law of sin, let it go badly for that man."

614 Only a certain khal knows the oath with each particular
825 animal. There is a clan whose k:khal is a wolf -- kekhr: ping chnarpung. They caught a wolf. They went hunting seals. The wolf was sitting on the ice, and it had been carried into the estuary. As soon as the hunters saw it, they approached the bank, bow first. That wolf came and sat on the bow of the boat. They wanted to kill it, but took pity on it. They let it off and let it go. Sometime later these same (people) were hunting, and a bear attacked them. Then that wolf appeared, began to circle round, attacked the bear and saved them. Thus (it happened) many times. This wolf multiplied and was frequently encountered (as a rule there were few wolves there). Chnar-pung do not kill a wolf, but whenever they see one they feed it. When the hunters, having killed many seals, leave the whole carcasses, the wolf spoils them, but if a Chnarpung is left, then he does not spoil them. They journey into the taiga, and the wolf goes along close by; they leave yukola, mos', and so forth there. The Chnarpung may call him atk. Wolves, like tigers, are of two kinds: docile and not docile.

685 This same wolf tendon is used in another way. When some-
754 thing is lost, they fashion a stuffed doll, like a man, out of a rotten piece of wood and place a seal bladder on its head. They bind its neck with a wolf tendon, and at night they walk around and knock in the corner of the first yurt, saying: "Pyz´ nyngjắ -- look

/304 cont./
685 for your master!" And thus /305/ they go around the entire village,
754 meanwhile pulling on the tendon. Then the thief begins
to suffocate from fright and confesses. A shout goes up; it
happens that the thief dies from it.

627 An oath is taken also in controversial matters. Before the
695 court, in a balagan where the khlaj-nivukh sits, nothing is allowed
to be boiled; they eat raw yukola.

A stick (kys') -- about an arshin in length with a human chkhnaj.

If the matter reaches the point of breaking the stick, then they pay more -- double. Both big and little assemble in the balagan of the khlaj-n'ivukh'a (the settlement of Karga, 1896).

881 Women, Childbirth, and Children. A maiden who has reached
30 sexual maturity makes two braids. Women pierce both ears in
178 order to put in earrings (mes'kh); formerly men also pierced their
881 ears. A wife who is a minor can be slept with only after she begins
585 to menstruate. During menstruation the woman puts on her
841 oldest clothes and does not sleep with her husband. Women wash
[302] themselves, but not with hot water, for otherwise the tŭgurmam
(the mistress of the fire) takes offense.

171 Among the Kekhal (Orochi) a man who has two wives ac-
837 commodates a guest under one blanket.

843 A pregnant woman must not look at the Amur when it be-
823 gins to break up, in order not to slow up the opening of the river.

844 They give birth in the balagan (midwife -- langyv-mam).
In winter the mother spends one and a half days in it, in summer --
three days.

84 One must not cry out during delivery -- a sin. The husband at this time does not go anywhere. If a child has died during birth, the woman must not travel on the river or sea for a whole year -- there would not be any fish. For a month before childbirth, it is not permissible to bind anything tightly or to drive in stakes; it is not permissible to repair anything for an alien.
[789] During difficult deliveries they open up boxes, tear off patches,
and unscrew their rifles. The newborn baby is washed with cold water. The midwife is not paid. Until the umbilicus heals, the

Amur

/305 cont./

84 mother has her own fire. After childbirth a woman washes herself
for three days and then moves to her yurt, but for seven days
she sits apart and eats from a separate kettle. For ten days after
childbirth, it is not permissible to drink cold water or to eat raw
fish, but if twins were born, then it is permissible. When a child
is born, they bring in two sticks, put them into his hands and lift
[755] him up. Similarly, sticks will be placed in the infant's hands
when he falls ill, and he will be compelled to lift himself up (1).

[777] 1. On another page of the same notebook,
we find the following notation: "These sticks
kyz' nyngydz' (from kyz' -- risk, luck, and
nynydz: -- to seek)," which probably refers
to the above-mentioned sticks.

845 /306/ If two children were born, they make two pairs of
prung, two k:ong z'akh, two sticks made of rose-willow, cut as
strips (pylng z'akh), two small bows (pudz:) and arrows of a special
shape (m'erlar), and attachments for the cradle -- pitus'. When
they prepare food, these trees -- ola' bituz' -- must be fed
(settlement of Kal'ma).

855 While a child is growing up, his umbilical cord -- kylmyr
789 is kept at home, and then he himself must carry it into the forest
[846] and hang it on a tree. O'ging chkhnaj is a figure that they make
when a child is suddenly frightened during his sleep. The chkhnaj
is the figure made when a person himself, without the shaman,
does that which he dreams.

514 The child's excrement is poured out near a fir tree (both
male and female); after being cut, hair is also thrown here (it is
not permissible to cut the hair of twins). One must watch care-
fully to see that no female blood drops on the urine or the refuse,
[824] for then the child is lost. The child will die if the tree growing
[761] there is broken. This tree is called pila uigf, and the place
is called ki markf -- literally -- "urine pouring out place."

/306 cont./

778 824 A child's amulet -- ola bituz consists of two slender fir trees -- prung, which are uprooted on the day of birth of a boy; their crowns are bound with birch bark. Then they are reinforced, encircled with simple sticks, and bunches of leaves of Ledum palustre -- the marsh tea (tykr) are attached to them, as well as the sharpened head of k:khong z'akh, the head of a pike (ius), and hooks for the boy's clothes. If the boy dies, all this is thrown away, but if he survives, everything goes to the next child (settlement of Kal'ma).

VII.

Religion

774 The soul and the ceremonies after the burning of the corpse. The soul -- cheg:n, chekhn, yrykh, uz'(the pith as in a tree). A man has three souls: one major one -- cheg:n, and its two [756] shadows, assistants. When the cheg:n of a shaman is wounded, the shaman dies.

774 787 If in sleep something is dreamed clearly and comes true, it is the activity of the chief soul, and if it does not come true, then of the shadow-assistant. There are interpreters of dreams. If one sees a cow, there will be a storm; if a red berry, he will soon fall ill.

765 [764] In the morning on the next day after the cremation of a dead man, his family arrives, rakes together the ashes, encloses them with wooden boards on four sides, and covers them with fir branches, and on top with drel', then birch bark and wooden boards, which are then attached to the ground with wooden /307/ hooks. The skull bone (chongr nynyv), which is picked up from the ashes, is wrapped in white, placed between two wooden boards, and fastened together with an umbilical cord ("the root from which man is born"); this is the way they make the mu n'ivukh k:ak. Some place the bone in the upper part, others --

Amur

/307 cont./

765 next to the umbilical cord. A wooden board is attached to the
ground at some distance from the place of the cremation of the
764 dead man -- mu n'ivukh tuv. The body of the deceased is dressed
in stockings, a waistband, a woman's hat of lynx; if the deceased
is a man, then in a man's winter hat, while to his belt is attached,
on one side, a curved knife (ig:dzeko) and, on the other, kes'kes'
-- an iron chain and a needle case, and, in the front, mly -- a
purse with a flint, tinder, and steel. Then alongside is placed a
little stake, and on it a human hair (from the wife, sister,
mother) -- mu n'ivukh kiur, which will serve the deceased as
an insole for footwear upon going over into the world beyond the
grave; next to this, a little stake with three horns (branches),
on which is placed a small cup for a cuckoo (pyk nir); further-
more, a little stake with a wooden cuckoo -- mu n'ivukh pyk,
i.e., "the cuckoo of the dead man," and finally still another little
stake with an eagle feather -- chamngar.

The building of a little grave house can be postponed, but the dressed stuffed doll -- k:ak (1) must be made without fail.

[532] [774] 1. K:ak -- wooden image of the deceased, a receptacle for his soul.

Temporarily a little balagan of bark, k:ak-raf, is erected over him. Finally a little house, raf, is built, and the funeral repast is held.

765 In a day, a week, a month, the closest kinsmen arrive,
drink, cry, and commemorate; they do this for a year, in
some cases for two or three years, but if there is no one to do this,
then for one month, depending on status. At the end of the
term of "observation" (tigr az'radz: -- "observation of the tree,"
the time of periodic funeral repasts at the house of the deceased),
they buy vodka and rice, assemble the kinsmen and the "in-laws,"
and for three or four days go to the grave and commemorate;
this is the last funeral repast (raf pykyz'dz:, tigr pykyz'dz:).
[231] They walk to the tuv, the place of the cremation of the
deceased, pour vodka there, sprinkle it from all the dishes,

/307 cont./

765 and bring over the favorite dog and feed it. This dog is called
231 pryski -- g:an (among the Goldi -- khan'a, i. e., soul); every
person, even a child, has without fail his own pryski. From
childhood everyone has his favorite dog, and when a man dies,
they select either his favorite dog or the best dog of those
harnessed to the sled and make a pryski of it. If it dies, they
765 bury it and cover it with chocks. Each says the following to the
775 deceased: "Ning yvr: húmnydz: kys'k:avr: tog:agán urgur vija
mu-n'ivukh gudókh mlyvo-rokh (pimlykh-tokh). Vingán, /308/
erirózonydz:, húin pyk tynakhaná, pyk tykē, chi jerinakhana
hongan pi oz'ngan, cham nar:kir: pkhuukuja plyngu tengu,
hokharód vétana khan'a nyn'gir: kiur keraj'a, hyhagyskú vetajá
k:akgir:, turi kher: toz'ja, pykn'ir: pyk chakh tanýdz: pyk tekē:
pernakhaná. Urgur vir: namugur humyjá pytykhu dog:a
pymykhu dog:a, pi ykyngudog:a, vijá.

"To live near us, there is no happiness (not fate), in such a case, fine, go to the deceased, to the settlement of the dead (to your settlement of the dead). When you go, you will cross the river; a cuckoo will cuckoo there; after the cuckoo bird cuckoos for a long time, you will wake up. When you get up, you will shake off ashes and coal with eagle feathers; then you will dress yourself, make an insole out of the hair (1), put on this clothing, and, having made something like a little bridge from the figure, cross; a cuckoo bird, becoming tired (2) after it

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1. Out of the hair of the wife, sister, or mother.

[825] 2. All during the trip to the stream the cuckoo will cry; before the stream there will be no water and no food. It will become tired and will have to drink from the cup. There are cuckoos which squeal, which means that they are tired from accompanying the deceased.

/308 cont./

765 has cuckooed for a long time, drinks water from a cup. Go well,
775 live well, (observe) the law of your fathers, the law of your
mothers, the law of your elder brothers. Go." These words are said at the ordinary funeral repasts.

769 After a while they buy a bear, feed it for two years, and then
796 hold a bear festival. If a kinsman of the deceased does not buy a bear,
626 he is treated with contempt and reviled -- "inain khardz:." "What sort of a person are you? Your mother brought you up, cleaned up your excrement. A good man does not even abandon his pryski like that." One cannot be tried for such a vilification. One's clansmen always help one to hold a bear festival.

587 The woman cannot marry until the major funeral repast
768 is over.

766 They inter a baby up to a week old on a tree, up to half a year old -- in the ground.
[842] If a child who died before he was three days old were cremated, his mother would not have children for a long time.

[184] On the Amur four little firs with roots are placed over the grave.

[731] During pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) the dead are not cremated, but must be buried in a grave.

Drowned persons. Uiglyf -- the place where a drowned man has been pulled out. When a man has drowned, he is cremated, and on the third day they make a toln'ir, i.e., a cup for sacrifices to the master of the water, a trough, and a kinys -- a cup for the drowned man; mos' is placed in the trough, in the cup -- red currants. They pity the man; they select two or three /309/ brave men, put the deceased in a boat on the bank there by the water, and place a kinys nich, a Chinese kettle, and one rose-willow branch standing to the height of a man. At this point one man says: "Kettle, boil, steam, rise, move upwards, you, rose-willow branch, widen, make a good covering so that the devil does not see the Gilyak."

/309 cont./

766 Two men, friends of the deceased, sit to watch, do not
756 move, do not speak, tie up all the dogs, and wait. In the yurt
754 a shaman shamanizes, calling on the sorcerer who drowned the
787 man to eat from the kinys n'ich: "Go eat human meat!" He
rushes from beyond the mountains, from beyond the valleys. Amid complete silence a wave splashes, a whirlwind rushes through, a bird swims up, a black dog runs up. Suddenly the wave has approached the very cup; the deceased either moves, makes a sound, or sits up. Now it is necessary to pierce the deceased or (to hit?) the cup with a dolphin harpoon which has been in constant use, or a spear, and it feels as if the spear has struck into the man, and there are traces of blood on it. On the following day the sorcerer has a wound or a sickness from which he dies. Then the dead man is buried, while the cup is kept for two summers and then thrown away. The cup may also be destroyed right away. They do not make it very pretty. Then they make real toln'ir and sacrifice from them down to the third generation.
756 Shamanistic kamlanie. Shamans are 1) toldokh urly cham;
787 2) pai'dokh urly cham; 3) kurdokh urly cham; 4) pang:at
n'ivukh -- fortuneteller. At home a shaman directs his questions to a stone with a hole -- tolfang. If the stone immediately gives answers, it is thrown away. The shaman queries his pal'pang:a (a wooden figure which is bound with white drel', and with shavings on the neck; it is suspended on a string). The waving of the figure is an affirmative answer. If there is no pang, they tie tobacco wrapped in white drel' to the stone. It advises the shaman about medicines, indicates what sacrifices to give and
(755) to which particular pal (i.e., pal of one's own or of a different
clan), and so forth. It cannot drive away the evil spirit, but it can find out what spirit is there and also give indications with regard to stealing and fish. A man receives his pang also during sickness. He may even be a shaman, but frequently bad shamans steal (tempt away) their major kekhn from them. There are shamans
756 who have pang:kh, but not each one has them. There are
776 shamans who have kitus, something like an earthworm.

/309 cont./

756 The shaman calls up his kekhn and treats them to fat, sugar,
776 and vodka. "Children, leave from the window!" shouts the shaman. After /310/ a while the window crackles, and the kitus' enters. The kitus' lives, not with the shaman, but beyond the ranges, beyond nine ranges, beyond nine streams; there are Gol'tsy (pákhtigraf) there. The master there is an old man. The house is of iron and stone and has gates: the first gates are guarded by a boa; the second by crocodiles (there are small lizards-crocodiles -- mèng:aj here); the third and last gates are guarded by a tiger. Pal'-g:an=haluvidz:(?), i.e., a small tiger, sits in front of the threshold and guards. With this old man lives the chief old man pila k:ak hejmar (pal yz', pallung n'ivukh -- the mountain master-man). Near the pila-khas' (a post which supports the matka) in each yurt there must be a stone for the kettle (nichvakh) and another stone at the threshold. This worm is kept under the first stone. In this house there are various animals: simple frogs -- rall, and the frogs of this particular house, mifpidz:. This little worm was given by the shaman to his own little worm for safekeeping. The shaman: "Massi (illegible), go there, request it of the boa and tiger, the guardians of the gates." Sometimes the boa will continue to be stubborn for days on end; they promise it a black dog, dog blood, a double portion of potatoes, a beautiful inau, etc. The pal-yz' is promised a spear and so forth. "I shall give thee armor, I shall give thee a spear, a large kettle with four handles, a piece of Chinese silk cloth, a furry black dog, and yet another dog with spots and speckles I shall sacrifice." "Pet'gir: chkhuz' nykhtá k:akh chkhuznykhta' pilavyn' noz' nykrvyn' tata charbgir, k:angir ygrluk an'chi kurgur g:angir ch 'khyz' nykhta." He then agrees and begins to ask the kitus' to come out. The kitus' slowly crawls out, the massi wraps it up in white silk and brings it to the shaman. The shaman then says: "Having moved away from the window, sit, the worm is coming, having moved away from such and such a window, sit. "Pakh jenverkhnga five, kitus' pryjvura! Kembakh pakh jenverkhnga fivĕ." And there the worm, like an arrow, pierced the window and straight to the shaman. The shaman took it.

/310 cont./

755 Mainly it is necessary to treat leprosy -- khachudz, and skin diseases.

The treatment of a leper. The shaman asks that a dog be brought into the isba. The sick man sits up with his legs hanging from the plank bed to the floor. In front of him there is an iron kettle with the opening upward. The man holds the dog, while the shaman moves around the yurt and kamlaet (shamanizes); then the shaman spits -- "emits the spirit," takes a small worm out of his mouth and carries it toward the dog. The dog jumps back -- it has been pricked. Then the angry worm is brought over to the sick man; the shaman stands opposite the sick man with the worm in his hands, and the head of the shaman turns into a large woodpecker -- ves'khr: -- black, with a red forehead -- and, squinting his eyes, he begins /311/ to look closely at the face of the sick man in order to determine where to peck a bald spot, i.e., to learn where the worm of the disease is (the shaman, having squinted his eyes, sees through the man, and the sick man sits "all naked"). The shaman finds a soft spot, pricks it with the worm, and pulls out of there another worm, which he throws into the kettle. He thus pulls out all the worms from the entire [761] [825] body, leaving only one worm, samui:. Without a worm, a person cannot live, but this worm cannot propagate. Those who have seen these worms in the kettle say that they look like tree worms. This kettle is covered with other kettles. At the same time he orders his kekhn to keep watch at night over the cup. On the following day he orders the Gilyak to bind the kettle tight with a kaluga net and to bury it in the ground, while he himself shamanizes. The shaman carries it away over five rivers and five ranges. He sings, so that the small mountains become large, and the streams -- large rivers. There he digs out a pit, where he places the kettles together and binds them. Those who go must count five narrow valleys and five ranges. And the shaman sings once again, so that the dried up little springs turn into large rivers, the rivers -- into cliffs, and the kaluga net -- into the densest wire bag -- "become a wire bag, so that the worm does not come out." The shaman solders the kettles with words: "Two kettles, having melted together, merge and mutually become one."

/311 cont./

756 Before becoming a shaman -- pokhtyrdz:-cham -- a
shaman who can lead a soul into the next world (from pokhtyrdz:
-- to lead a soul into the next world), he is ill and tormented
until out of his mouth come pulk (Goldi tulin) -- a shaman's
copper mirror, tovz (Goldi pűn'chu) -- a piece of copper for a
shaman's fumigating smoke, then horns -- murki', and, finally,
a lakhch -- a knife of palm /pal'my/. The lakhch of the Gilyak
shaman is his own work, but he does not have horn, and he buys
[776] pulk. Uz'mu kekhn -- the spirit protector of the shaman, ajami
[774] among the Goldi, lives in the uz' of the shaman. Uz' -- one of
the three souls of the shaman, literally, the pith of a tree.

VIII.

778 824 Beliefs and Rites Connected with Hunting and Fishing

[782] Chédzigr-turi, toigo. Chédzigr -- tree (a larch) which is placed in the taiga beside the hunters' balagan and before which they sacrifice to the master of the sky. Every year they place a new chédzigr, but the old one cannot be touched, not even touched with one's hands. /312/ If it falls down by itself, it will be carried to a storage place -- chédzigr nan'gof (1). In the settlement of Kal'vo on the chédzigr, on its crossbar -- two figures,
778 yzikh -- peasant man and woman. A chédzigr is fed on the first
782 day of the month anlong (December) and a second time in July.
824 Everyone sits in a circle, and an old man takes a small amount
of food from each, makes chukh-chugind -- a sacrifice -- and
places inau. The inau are made out of mountain ash.

[184] 1. In another place it is said that the chédzigr is not repaired until it falls down.

824 /312 cont./

778 Only representatives of the clan, k:khal n'akhr:, gather
782 at the place where the chédzigr stands. They bring rice, buda,
[614] a pig, and vodka. Before the tree there is a bench /labaz/ for dishes. The pig is slaughtered, and its blood is sprinkled around with the comment: "Kur, indyjá -- god, look!" No images of any sort are made on the tree.

The tree is also a road. Everybody gives to the tlyn'ivukh; the sacrifice goes along the tree, then along the thread which goes from the tree and serves as a trail. They start a fire in order to tar the pig. They do not feed the fire, but they do protect it, do not stamp it out. It is absolutely necessary that the sun shine during a sacrifice, and therefore it is occasionally necessary to wait. When a balagan is placed in a new place, they make a new chédzigr.

796 Tlyrokh -- Sacrifice to the sky. Everyone assembles in one yurt.
782 Early in the morning they set out in search of a larch (for the chédzigr), while the women prepare various dishes; then the tree which has been brought in is made fast, and all the dishes are
[184] carried in Chinese or Japanese dishes. There are villages where the tlyrokh is never made; in Tevkh only a red dog pag:r kh:an:, is slaughtered instead of a pig and a cock. They tie it up to the chédzigr, strangle it, cut out the heart and throw it upward, treat one another with vodka, and rub the chédzigr with vodka. They celebrate once a year in January -- chamlong. The "word" during tlyrokh: "n'jongarja kinynguch: humguja', kholafti lygyguja'," i.e., "please, that I live well, that there be no sickness."

Then they make a new birch bowl (han'gar:), place it on the ground, and put the sacrifice in it. Ski, a stick, and a crossbow (narródz:) are placed there, the "word" (prayer) is not said, and they quietly leave. At home they "make" a fire, and when everything is cooked, all the sacrifices are placed between coniferous branches and then placed between two forked pieces of wood (tuurg'a'vk); the fork is thrown into the fire and [illegible]
[789] taken back. This fork is placed under the head at the end of a
[776] hunt to protect against the milk'a (the evil spirit). In /313/ the

/313 cont./

796 782 morning it is necessary to take back the ski and so forth quietly and stealthily. These things are placed so that the Tly-nĭvukh descend the tree, and by these objects they find out the nature of the Tly-nĭvukh and "if he has a good heart," if he will give a "risk" /fart/ or not. "After all, five of us go, one caught something while another goes on and on pursuing but gets nothing. What is the reason for this?"

731 782 [165] During a takh -- smallpox epidemic -- in Tyr all the Gilyak assemble, make a sacrifice -- bow, present rice, roots, and berries. First the 120-year-old man Zyavkayu from the village of Dyl'myu sacrifices. They pray before the tree chédzigr. This old man remembers four big takh.

776 782 Pal likes a tree with different peculiarities, and on solemn occasions such objects are selected. A sacrifice is always made to one's clan Pal-yz' (the master of the mountains), but they are not made to Pila-yz' (the great master). He is most frequently seen on a knoll. One must not shout to him. There is a conversation going on on the other side -- that is Pal-yz'. Pal -- mountain master -- likes a black dog; Tol -- sea master -- a [372] white one. Each large house has two fires, Pal-tuur and Tol-tuur. [354] If a person has one stove, it is only Tol-tuur, and if he must boil bear meat, he goes to a clansman of that khala who has two stoves.

778 782 224 225 Tol-takhej -- a takhej of larch; a hammer, chong-chtăs', is hung on it. Near it is a halynyr (bench /labaz/)on which are placed the carcasses of dolphins, kaluga, and reindeer. And here they invariably boil the dolphins, here the bones are left to lie, except the skulls and heads, which are carried away to k:khork n'angof, i.e., a place where they put skulls. During the fynyndz: only two dishes are placed on the halynyr -- mos' and muvi (kissel/ a jelly-like dish/). It is also from here, in the presence of the entire khala, that they throw a little of everything into the Amur, but say nothing -- otherwise another misfortune will occur. -- Then on the takhej they hang tobacco, ag:a (akhydz') -- a bunch, yukola -- pys' and announce that everyone should come out and feed it. This is the main office of Tol. People are sent

778 /313 cont./
782 to shout: "Yrk-lu? -- Is it enough?" -- "Yrkrá! -- It is enough!"
224 Everyone approaches by houses and feeds it, and each says his
225 own: "Send the dolphin! Send the little fish!" After this everybody
must return together at the same time, for otherwise it would
be a heavy sin if they were to meet each other.

778 The customary takhej of a hunter is the individual uig. Anybody
688 who touches it gives a dog. If a member of another clan has
insulted a lezing (the place for the bear festival), the vopund
kymlydz: assembles, and they judge him; they demand a bear or
782 a luk -- a shaggy dog. Pyl-yz´ -- the spirit of the master is fed
each month. If they have caught a tasty fish, /314/ they cut
themselves a piece and him a piece, and when his pieces have
stood for half an hour, they eat them themselves.

796 When they build a pila uigryf (house in which the bear festival
346 is celebrated), it is imperative to celebrate a bear festival. If
782 there is nowhere to buy a bear, they must kill a luk: -- a shaggy
black dog ("it is just like molk," i.e., like a bear). If the house
is simple, they kill only dogs, two to four in number, without regard
to kind. If a post falls on a lezing, they kill two black dogs.
It is not at all necessary that a man be killed by a bear for a pila
uigryf. After a bear festival, when the members of other clans
are leaving for (their own) homes, the bear bones are tied together
with a thong and their dogs are killed at a special chédzigr.

It is not permissible for a single clan in a single village to make two lezing, but there can be several uigryf. Any house where a bear festival takes place is an uigryf.

/314 cont./

IX.

Ideas about Animals

825 Choramladz: (chkhoramland) -- like a cat or a polecat, even smaller than a cat; black lip. They move in herds; their footprints have been seen. They are considered most dangerous animals. If you come upon them, you must climb a tree; they surround the tree, but cannot climb it. The man ties his hat to a twig and lowers it down, the animals jump up; the man back, they fall, chew the hat, etc. Finally he saves himself: he waves a long pole around, and they run from the noise.

825 The oldest of all the land animals are pal-miv-kmyg:
773 myg:nga igagŭ syktymu yzʹmudz:gu. They are of the human race. Once the lion, the tiger, and the bear were human beings. They "did it through the rear" with their wives. Kur, by accident, saw this. He said to them: "Since you have intercourse like beasts, so remain beasts in the future." Then they became beasts. Therefore they are considered to be of the human race. The bear was also a human being, but he used to walk on all fours. Kur saw this: "Since you walk like a beast, so walk like a beast." But he does not have intercourse through the rear.

839 There is no bestiality. -- On Sakhalin there was once
732 born a boy with a tail.

825 The lark makes thunder, and therefore one must not kill it.
821 It is a sin to approach its nest with baby birds -- there will be thunder.

The thunder bird -- tet lyj zevrk: -- makes thunder and, opening its mouth -- lightning.

825 /315/ The loon is the principal water bird. The oldest loon, ugn, with a tail, cries in a thin, humanlike voice, "o-o-o!" The second -- k:akhtr, ag:nĭ, is smaller, cries "ka, ka, ka," or "vakh, vakh!" The third loon -- amʹ is the smallest and cries in an almost human voice "a-a-a!"

/315 cont./

X.

The Building of a House, Its Plan, and Rites Connected with the House

342 [087] Before laying down the first row of logs, they try sprinkling flour: if in the morning there is an imprint of a human foot, this is good; if of a human hand or of a beast, this is bad, and then they change the place. If there are no imprints of any kind, this is also good.

342 354 Explanation of the plan of a house (see drawing). 1. Shy -- door. 2. Tol-erkh pusk fakh -- window facing the hearth of the "master" of the sea. 3. Kem-fakh -- second window to the left of the door. 4. Ponakh-fakh -- window over the middle plank-bed. 5. Pal-erkh ponakh-fakh -- window facing the master of the mountain. 6. Kyly nakh fakh (mat´k:as´ n´ekh fakh) -- window alongside the long plank-bed. 7. Mat´ k:as´ akhr fakh -- window near a small post. 8. Pal-erkh pusk fakh -- window on the side
342 of the mountain. 9. Kangyl -- the place for tying dogs. 10. Tly k:as´ -- large post. 11. Kil erkh mat´ k:as´ -- small post. 12. Tol erkh mat´ k:as´ -- post on the side of the sea. 13. Mat k:as´ -- small post. 14. Hytyfi mat k:as´ -- middle small post. 15. Pi´la digr-irku k:as´ -- large elongated post under the matka. 16. Pal erkh´ mat k:as´ -- small post on the side of the mountain. 17. Kylyná mat´ k:as´ -- long and slender little post. 18. Shyvos n´ich fakh -- small stone near the threshold. 19. Pi´la k:as´ nir fakh -- small stone at the threshold on the level of the floor.
[354] 20. Pi´la digr -- elongated matka. 21. Pal erkh tuur -- hearth of the master of the mountain. 22. Tol erkh tuur -- hearth of the
[335] master of the sea. 23. Tyjf -- cross log, foundation of the house. 24. Kylzhutá -- the middle of the plank bed where they put a person who has been wounded by a bear. 25. Uig dz:onkh -- tabooed
[778] corner for the bear's head and so forth. 26. Ke dz:onkh -- upper corner. 27. A dz:onkh -- lower corner. 28. Pal erkh pusk dz:onkh -- corner on the side of the mountain for tabooed things.
[776] 29. The floor is divided into two halves: a) pal erkh kyl, and b) tol erkh kyl. On each half is placed only that which has to do with the appropriate spirit, with tol or pal´.

/315 cont./

342 Sacrifices (sacrificed dishes -- chmáus) are placed on the
782 appropriate half; if there is not enough space, then on the appropriate nau (tol or pal´). /316/ /Sketch of the house-plan appears here./

342 /317/ Tyvyz -- "master" of the house; he lives either under
[776] the post (10) or under a stone (19). Sometimes he is an old man, sometimes an old woman or a young woman.

The master of the house and his family occupy the tol´ erkh pusk; if the family is large then also the kemfakh (3) and ponakhfakh (4). The bear's head is placed in the middle (25).

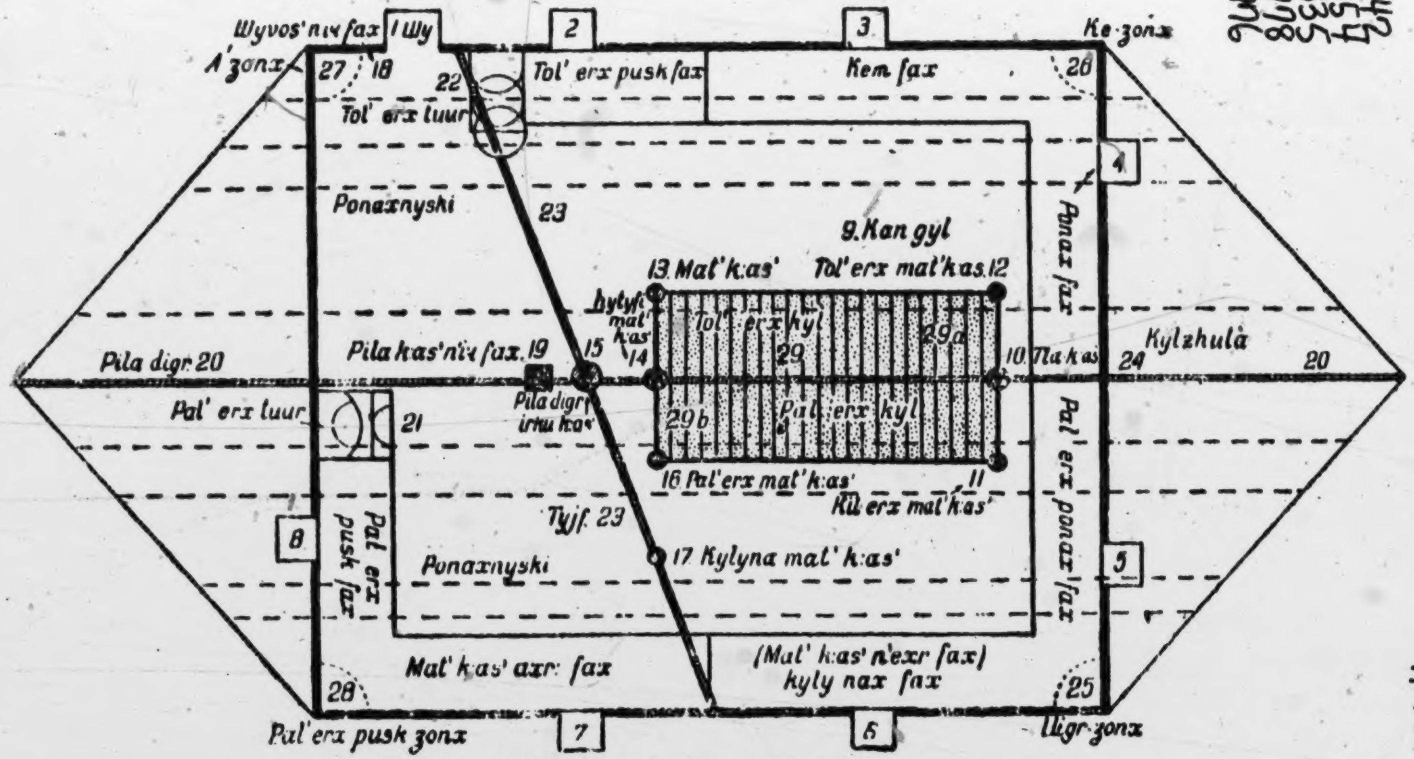
[356] In autumn, during cleaning, everything is abundantly fed:
[782] the walls, the floor, the supports under the plank beds, the edges of the plank beds, and so forth.

Rites upon the completion of a house. When a new house is completed, they place two sticks, one in the front and the other in the back (of the house), and on a thread stretched between them are hung images of the sun (keng) and the moon (long chakh). They are not renewed later.

342 When the house is completed, sacrifices are made: They
782 prepare mos´ 1) alys -- berries, 2) rak: -- a porridge of rice or wheat, and feed the four corners (chonkh), four posts (mon´-nakh), and the two posts in the middle -- the front one, amkhas´, and the rear one, kemkhas´, in which the master lives; they also feed the crossbeam -- tyjf (edz:). Here the old man says: "Urla dyf muja´ nolagu kýnynguch: humguja´, ta sikhydz kh:olaf ta hum guja´" -- be a good house (sit firmly). Make it felicitous for my
[356) children, and so that there be no kind of sickness." In autumn the house is cleaned, plastered with clay, and they sacrifice -- tyv arnydz:.

342 Tyv yz' bakh -- a stone before the threshold or beyond the
778 threshold, or a piece of pig iron; under it sits the "master," who
776 guards against the entry of the milk'.

Lym yz´ -- threshold. Beyond the threshold, under the
342 ground, they place different foods (chyudz:) -- for the earth --
782 the master and the tol fynydz:.
776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Plan of the House of the Amur Gilyak

/Three letters in the terms above have been changed in the translation: ʒ = dz; χ = kh; ш = sh. The other letters are from the Latin alphabet; see the table on p. 36 (foreign text p. xxxix). /

Amur

342
354
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778
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/317 cont./

342 Sanctifying the house. On the eve of sanctification, on the day of
787 the completion of the building, with the setting of the sun, a
reliable man must make his way there and be attentive for a
cracking sound or streaks of light.

342 If a cracking sound is heard during the sunset, or purple
787 streaks of light are noticed, this is a bad sign. If the cracking
789 is at dawn or the streaks of light are bright light -- this is a
[776] good sign. The bad sign means that not a real "master," but a
devil -- kins has settled in the house. Then the shaman must be
called, and he makes a chkhnyr chkhnaj, a grass figure, and
342 drives out the demon. A real "master" is fed two times -- in
776 autumn (cleaning) (1) and another time when one wishes. They
782
feed all the posts, the door posts, the threshold, the matka, the
stone under the threshold near the door, where the old man or the
old woman lives, guarding the house against the entering of the
evil spirit.

342 /318/ Driving out the evil spirit takes place in the follow-
789 ing fashion: a grass figure -- chkhnaj, on three legs, is placed
in the middle of the yurt. A man holds it by a string tied to his
[534] hand; in his other hand he holds a club. A shaman shamanizes
[756] with a tambourine. The evil spirit must hide. The shaman
enumerates the walls, boxes, and various things in the yurt from
which his kekhn must drive out the evil spirit, and he does not
mention only one corner -- it is there that the evil spirit is hiding.

342 The shaman then says: "gy, gy (i.e., 'good'), in such and
756 such a corner there is no evil spirit." And all answer: "Gy-gy,
789 gy-gy, such and such a corner does not have evil spirits." Finally
[776] the shaman says: "The kings has hidden in such and such a corner.
Massi (apparently the spirit -- assistant of the shaman), go and get
him, and the rest make a battue!" "There, he went out, he went
out as a dog..." (speaking to the kekhn, i.e., to the spirit).

[372] 1. Evidently speaking of the cleaning
of the hearth by feeding the "master"
of the fire.

/318 cont./

342 "Make a battue, drive him toward this grass figure. Ah! He
756 has turned into a mouse." The chorus: "He is going there. He
789 turned into a human form... he turned into a bird. He got into
the post.!"

Finally, there is no other place, and he has to get into the chkhnaj -- the grass figure, whether he wants to or not. When he has entered it, the hand of the person holding the thread appears to shake. The shaman shouts: "Hit him!" And that one hits. They light a candle, throw light on it, and inspect the grass figure: it again does not have its head toward the threshold. The shaman searches for him again. He finds him. Again the same thing. Finally, the chkhnaj has its head toward the threshold, which means that the evil spirit has gone out. The shaman leaves
[776] his massi to keep watch overnight. In the evening of the follow-
342 ing day the shaman calls the real "master," but that one answers
776 that he was late. The real "master" is generally hidden under the
782 earth; the shaman looks for him and addresses to him the request:
756 "Here they have built an isba, be the master, they will feed you, watch over it, protect it!" Finally the master has appeared in the middle of the floor and stuck out his head. "Come out," says the shaman, "do not be shy, say what you want, we will prepare everything!" The master answers: "Kill the dog, rub the corner with its blood, boil its meat so that the dog steam fills the house. Boil kosterka. Boil mlyk marcho (a fish with two fins at the tail), boil the white lin'ka, the puchka, the head of the Siberian salmon, treat each post to the steam, do thus, make a fumigating smoke with marsh tea, drive in a piece of pig iron several pieces by the threshold and in other places of the floor, then the floor will be iron. Strengthen it thus."

/319/

XI.

Miscellanea

823 The cliff Uj-parne, in the form of an isolated stone pillar, is between Khez' and Chil'mi. Formerly one could hear how the
[782] master of the cliff beat on a tambourine. Three times (a year)
[776] they made sacrifices to him and addressed to him the request: "Pkhys'kyr ururungjá! -- do good for us with your risk!"

731 During a pila-dakh (smallpox epidemic) they bring fire-
758 wood and water to the sick, but do not themselves enter the house.

731 When they learn that it is all over in all the settlements
753 (i.e., the epidemic is over), then the dead are taken out of their
766 graves and burned; they are afraid of burning them earlier for they believe that smoke spreads infection. The only thing that is allowed is the smoking with marsh tea in the yurt.

538 The Female Character. Proverbs. 1) The female character is
562 like a whirlwind, similar to the wind. 2) With just a tug you will change the female character. 3) A woman is like a fire started in a clear field: the wind blows and it is out.

158 Meryachen'e. In Charbakh two people suffer from the disease
[143] meryachen'e -- two women; this sickness is inherited in the female line. Those who suffer from meryachen'e repeat literally everything, even in a foreign language; they repeat even actions. The attacks come during a fright. The sick woman is then unconscious, but later she comes to. If attempts are made to compel her to repeat something many times, she is ready to attack with a knife. In their youth they did not suffer from meryachen'e.

There are other such sick people in Tymvo and Pronga.

/320/

Separate Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak

I.

Religion

773 [776] Cosmogony and the spirits-masters. Kurn, the master of the universe, created everything; in the past everything was water; he "made the earth, the stream, and the tree." "Working" the earth, Kurn lost his reindeer, which turned into Lavro-pal. The large rivers are the tracks of his reindeer, while the small streams (were formed) as he waved his lash at the reindeer -- tlangi-z'ach:.

821 [772] The sky -- tly -- is like our earth, but it moves, turns first with one end, then with the other. When the sky moves away from us with its sunny end, night falls.

The stars: the largest are as large as a yurt. They are white, and therefore they cannot be seen during the daytime; in the light of the sun they become pale.

The sun: shines at night in Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave).

773 824 People descended from a tree: the Orok from a birch, the Gilyak from a larch, the Ainu from a fir.

776 614 The master of the mountains and of the taiga, Pal' nîgyvyn, looks like an Ainu. Each clan has its own Pal nîgyvyn.

821 Thunder lives in the water in winter, and Pal'-nivukh pierces him in the eye through the water; in summer thunder attempts to avenge this. Since Pal'-nivukh has the ability to turn himself into the most minuscule creatures and to get under the skin (?) (1) of a person, a Gilyak, when his finger itches during a thunderstorm, immediately lets some blood; otherwise thunder will kill the man in order to kill Pal'-nîvukh who has gotten into the finger (a story by Gibel'ka, heard by him in Nyyde).

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1. Illegible. S. Sh.

/320 cont./

821 [782] The god of the wind -- Layzn (the evil wind -- Lamangnd); no chukh-chugnd (sacrifices) are made to him. He is shot at with bows; he is not shot at with rifles for fear of evoking thunder and a storm. The wind comes about thus: "Layzn, just like man, blows from his mouth."

773 825 The bear, the sable, the fox, the otter, and the squirrel were created by Pal yz'n (the master of the mountains).

776 Tuurmam -- the god of the hearth, the mistress of fire, the old woman -- is one among all the clansmen. The head of Tuurmam is curly, the snout red, /321/ the hair short (there is no braid), the height that of a man, the clothing -- fish skin, lives in the fire.

[821] Tajrnandz: the only one who sends fish; he is a large and robust man. All his dogs are white. He rides through the air, along the Milky Way (Tairnandz: -- tif); he lives there. He also makes thunder. Each k:khal has its own Pal-nîvukh, its own Tol-nîvukh, even its own milk'i, but there is one Tairnandz:. They set up three trees for Tol-nîvukh: a fir, an ashberry, and a rose willow. Strips of bark are cut out of these trees and their branches are bound with sedge. One chkhnaj has saranka attached to it.

Oskyz´n master of the hare, big like a cow, long nose. They throw the head of a hare, with puchka tied to it. Tlangi-yz´n -- master of the reindeer, looks like a reindeer. Mekvon´-gi -- master of the kabarga.

Evil spirit -- Ge-nîvukh. His yurt is an earthen mound near Tekhrvo. He comes to the Gilyak, opens a window (kuguty̆), extends two fingers, and asks for something. If something is given to him he leaves. If one gives him a hot coal, he does not understand what is happening, throws the coal back and forth from one hand to the other, and says: "as´ kavkhaj, khavrkhaj, avgujà" -- "it is hot, if you do not have (anything), do not give!" Ge-nîvukh likes to kidnap people, especially children. The only way -- is to inflict a wound upon oneself, for Ge-nîvukh is afraid of blood. Pumkin's brother sat in his balagan guarding reindeer and suddenly saw two ge-n´ivukh. He began to shout and inflicted a wound

/321 cont./

776 upon himself. Ge-n̆ivukh beats the seals. He is seen from a distance, but up close he disappears. He does not drive away sickness. In appearance he is "just like a Gilyak."

777 Talismans. Gibel'ka became rich in the following way: His eldest brother, Amgunka, found a piece of red material under a log in the taiga; from that time on he began to get rich. Gibel'ka stole this talisman from him, and then a chkhnaj fell from the sky, and he began to get even richer.

Taru -- talisman -- is an object which falls to a lucky person (kyz narla n̆ivukh) and which increases the number of things in his possession (for instance, two fur coats instead of one), such as: a May beetle, a piece of gold, a larch with fir cones, a climbing lizard, a worm.

Aleksey caught a goya with three worms adhering to it.by suction, and after this there was a lucky catch of fish.

755 Father Konki is very old and by now remembers nothing. But on the basis of dreams he advises the sick -- to make chkhnaj, feed them, and carry them into the taiga.

In recent times he has not had visions and therefore thinks that he will soon die.

/322/

756
776 Shamanism. A kekhn answers the shaman's questions about sickness and medication, but nobody hears his answers. The mightiest master is Tlykekhn (the spirit of the sky). He travels on foot through the sky and with a rope leads the shaman through the air wherever he wishes. The shaman does not take his kekhn along to Mlyvo (the world beyond the grave). The kekhn of Koynyt (1)

[115] 1. The author's storyteller -- a youth who subsequently became a shaman.
S. Sh.

comes to him only in a dream or during a seance. He sends him to various gods with tasks, for example, to learn what sacrifice to make. So far he has only pal-n̆igyvyn (kekhn). His kekhn is small, with a human face and a body covered with hair.

G /322 cont./
756 Chamkh, the father of Koynyt, my storyteller, was a
774 shaman in Ady-Tymi. He had four souls: one from Pal, another
from Tol, a third from Tly, and a fourth from Mly-yz′n.

G
756 Shamans make chkhnaj (a wooden image of pal-nĭgyvyn),
778 inspired during a seance, and feed them. The feeding consists
782 of giving sugar, saranka, and so forth, but they are eaten by the
shaman; it only appears to those around as if he eats it, however, while it is eaten by the kekhn himself. The chkhnaj must be fed or else it will gnaw a person.

G
755 When one is dangerously ill, then the yurt begins to shake
776 and becomes full of openings and through the openings, like
mosquitoes, many kekhn fly and shout: "Believe me, me!" And then the shaman falls down as if he were drunk. Then he eats marsh tea and drinks sea water -- he gives this to his kekhn. He swallows fire. Kekhn love songs.

G
755 If a person is near death and a milk has carried his soul to
756 Mlyvo, a kekhn kills him, and the shaman sets out for there for the
776 soul, and, if he succeeds in getting the soul, the sick man will
774 live. The kekhn shows the shaman the road (to Mlyvo). The
shaman gets to Mlyvo directly through an apperture; the same earth as here, the same sky, and many villages are there. If the soul is outside, it can still be obtained; if it is in the yurt, all is lost. If the shaman himself enters the yurt, he will die. In Mlyvo the soul of the shaman is like a bird and flies around the subterranean world.

G
755 Parnkhasind (an Orok word) is done only by the Ornyr, i.e.,
by the Orok. They ask the chkhnaj whether the sick man will recuperate or not. If the chkhnaj rocks from side to side, he will recuperate; if not -- he will die. All this is done under the smoke of marsh tea. When the shaman beats his drum, the kekhn advises the making of chkhnaj, and if somebody's soul comes into it, then the sick man will live. If he will live, the chkhnaj is fed; then when in the shaman's opinion it is time /323/ to lose him, he comes and arranges for the milk to go from the sick man into the chkhnaj, and the sick man then recovers. (see "Fortunetelling with a Stone").

/323 cont./

756 When shamans fight, the one who has more souls wins. The
774 killing of one shaman by another is accompanied by the acquisition
776 of the kekhn of the opponent. During his supposed death, the soul
[578] of the shaman travels over islands of the sea (tol). On these
islands, which are of various colors, the houses are of stone
tol-kekhn. Sometimes his soul goes into the mountains to the
abode of pal-kekhn. The shaman kekhn fears only Pal milk and
Tol milk, but not the milk of sables, foxes, otters, and rats (1).

1. Concerning the rat, see Chapter VII, "Miscellanea." S. Sh.

Among the kekhn there are variously colored eared seals, iron trout, and tigers.

756 How the shaman Chomkx resurrected a woman (the settlement of
539 Rykovskoye). A husband and a wife were fishing. The wife fell
sick and died before morning. The husband said: "All you shamans
are deceiving me. Now my wife is dead. Well, make her live!"
The shaman became angry and said: "I shall shamanize all night;
if before morning she moves her left little finger, she will live."
That is what happened.

756 A shaman stabbed himself and shot himself in the mouth,
and "nothing."

756 A female shaman has more spirits than a male shaman.
841 She kills her shaman competitor, sending her kekhn to rub her
754 competitor's eyes with the menstrual blood of shankh-chokh. A
[562] feature of this blood is that a drop in food makes a person waste
[578] away. Copulation during the menstrual flow also leads to local
[833] ataxia.

756 The kamlanie of a female shaman, who, according to her
796 own words, was milkternd (mad) after the birth of her first daughter.
[158] She first made inau and then rubbed her face, breast, and so forth
with marsh tea, lighted it on the hearth, and warmed her
tambourine... Then she bound her legs and arms with shavings
and girdled herself with shavings.. She yawned. Moderate blows...
The sounds grew stronger. She sighed loudly and whispered. She

/323 cont./

756 began to walk around. She sat down. She became blind, saw 796 nothing. The milk drank ten cups of horrible liquid. Clink, clink /as in touching glasses/! She drank it down in a gulp... then demanded a pipe and began to smoke and to exhale the smoke through her nose. She then (said): "Kyrndra" -- I am hungry! And she began to eat saranka. Then they gave her takr -- marsh tea. "Heavy (to lift the tambourine)!" The milk did this. She demanded ~~my~~ cigarette. "Give tobacco to the spirit," and ordered some distributed to everybody to smoke. She beat her breast, while a maiden beat the tambourine. Then she said: "Make a fire!" She sat down, /324/ then rose suddenly, began to dance, and ran through the door, but she was caught. The words of the female shaman: "People assembled to listen. There is no danger whatsoever. I cannot speak of various things. Naked people (i.e., not animals), a misfortune, cannot say anything. I hear the talk of the sea, I hear the talk of the mountain, I hear the talk of the sky, and I heard the talk of the sea fish. I hear the talk of the fish on all sides. Everybody listen only to me: everything was born from Pal, born from the middle of the existing mountains. They call (me) Protyst. The name of my husband is Zabrayn. The surname given by my husband -- They call me Vee'lyk. I am an old woman. Smoke tobacco, all you (who are sitting) in the yurt! Small and large, all smoke with my risk! I am not afraid of any devil (1)! I am a mother-in-law to all of you.

I am the only big old man (?). Yellow-copper squirrel, come my way! (When you ascend from the sea) to his grass house (sit down) to rest. When he ascended from there, cannibals were located before eight bear cages at the edge of an opening through which they push a trough, rest.

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1. Here there is evidently an omission in the notes. S. Sh.

/324 cont./

755 During the seance of the curing of a sick man, a looped thong -- tshyng -- is tied over his bed, and on the floor before him is placed a kettle (nich) with a nail (trofrvat). With this thong the kekhn catches and ties up the sick man's soul in Mlyvo, places it under his arm, brings it to the yurt, sticks it in the kettle -- otherwise it will depart through the floor into Mlyvo-khuty -- and pierces it with the nail. The nail and the thong are taken by the shaman.

756 789 776 The kenchkh and shaman conjuring. The kenchkh helps the shaman only in conjuring -- lernd; the shaman pierces his breast with a knife, but in reality he pierces the kenchkh (chekokhis' pes'pind). They bind the shaman's hands behind him with a thong, and the kenchkh comes and unties it and throws the looped thong to its Gilyak owner. The shaman's robe, fully buttoned, slides off over his head and flies (sits on a plank bed).

The shaman puts a noose made out of a slender thong on his neck, and two men on each side pull the noose tight while he continues to sing songs. Finally the shaman's head falls to one side and his torso to the other. Then the Gilyak begin to tap, while one beats a tambourine. Finally, one hears stamping outside the door and in comes ken'chkh-yz'n in the shape of a large cow. He walks up to the big kettle, drinks up all the water, eats all the meat of the shaman, and new meat and a head grow. Then the soul of the shaman gets up on the crossbeam over the hearth and begins to sing Kyu-kyu songs. Then the head grows onto the body, and the shaman again comes back to life. In 1897 /325/
756 there were shamans in Pylvo--1, in Tekhrvo--1, in Tyrmych--2, in Chayvo--2, in Kekhrvo--2, in Ornyr--one female shaman, an old woman. The biggest shaman is the old man Kymysk in Tyrmych.

/325 cont./

756 538 [688] *Improvisation of a storyteller-shaman.* To compose, *tyl´gund*, is not allowed; it is a sin. This is a legend, truth.

[776] *N´as´tund* may (be told) by a *n´as´tun´-n´ivukh* (storyteller) or a shaman, who is helped by a special kind of *kekhn* (mif-*n´ivukh-kekhn*, who sits on the tongue of the speaker. When inquiring about the possibility of improvisation, Koynyt (a shaman) said, "I can," and began to improvise.

With my own eyes I saw that this was inspiration by the richness and elusive quickness of the flow of words and the force of the speech. Tyurn listened with ecstasy and with interest asked for explanations.

756 533 538 Even before that he sang songs. The melody of the song was far from that which accompanies *n´as´-tund*; there is a great deal of grace and tenderness in it.

In places a quiet tenor vibrates beautifully with the sounds of a cello and in places flows into the thinnest pianissimo, while shrieks and artificial throat vibrations sound with tremendous dissonance. The entire song is sung without stopping for a breath, and at the end of a stanza the shaman comes to the end by abruptly cutting off with the words "*hand furu*" -- "thus it is said." Frequently, he finishes his song covered with perspiration.

Declamation and singing in narration. 1. In a *nas´-tund*: a) first humming, b) then -- monotonous, vibrating, doleful singing with all one's might, ending in c) fortissimo with exhaling.

2. In descriptions -- a single-tone recitative.

[536] 3. Dramatism: the artistic communication of conversations in a rhythmic recitative is especially good. If one becomes accustomed to it, it is very melodious.

4. Those present support him with yells: "*Ola*! *epoj*, *epoj*!" etc.

756 776 The *kenchkh* is a bird which comes on the wind. They pull on a thong with the *kenchkh* during the song. Two men (one a shaman) cast a rope, and the *kenchkh* seizes it and pulls over the people.

/325 cont./

764 Funeral ceremonies. After closing the eyes of the deceased with a hat they stretch him out and fold his hands across his stomach; they (wife, mother) let down their hair and that of the deceased. They try to lift the head, putting garments under it, or, in the case of the poor -- straw. Sometimes the wife or the husband cuts off a piece of the braid. Tobacco and a pipe are placed on the breast, and the guests come up one by one and smoke from this pipe into his mouth. The wife, or some other near relative, or, finally, /326/ an unrelated old man or old woman places at his head a small cup with food, vodka, and cold water; the relatives come up from time to time, eat what has been put there, and again fill up the cup.

764 292 The deceased should not be dressed in garments made of leather or of fish skin, for a drop of fat might fall into the fire, and that is a sin. Ornamented things, too, may not be given, for otherwise the deceased will lose his way. The garments for the deceased are sewed out of drel' and silk (pos˝) and provided in a multiple number, the rest in the singular. [294] All the women assemble for the sewing of the garments. The garments are sewed "lightly"; to sew strongly is a sin -- "uigyf." The deceased should not be washed.

764 292 192 The deceased is dressed in the following garments:

1. L´arkh, shirts, but unfailingly without wadding; no belt; no modesty pants.

2. Pan´ -- leggings.

3. Ki -- boots of drel', of the same shape for men and women; the tops are short; the soles are also of drel'; they are put on the naked foot.

4. Hak: -- a hat also of drel'; the hat looks like a child's hat with the hood backwards.

5. Vàmykh -- mittens with one finger, of any color; no sleeve coverings.

6. N´akh àir -- glasses, i.e., eye patches of drel', three fingers in breadth. Earrings and bracelets are taken off.

7. Vigvyr -- a belt, a piece of simple drel', white in color, and with this only two pairs of scabbards (chek:okhal´) of drel' (for

/326 cont./

764 a man) and one purse (mly) for tinder and flint.

[292] [192] 8. Hontkh -- a tobacco pouch, also of drel', for both men and women; tobacco is placed in the mly and the hontkh.

A husband dresses his wife, a wife her husband, parents their children, and vice versa. The deceased is given nothing more than the things enumerated. Shagund -- valuables -- are hung around outside and inside the yurt.

[574] Before the funeral guests are entertained from morning until night. Among the rich the entire village is entertained; they drink vodka and place vodka before the deceased. It is necessary to be gay, but they do not dance.

No news, or tales, or songs (are recited -- purind).

On the following day the men go to cut firewood for the [824] cremation of the deceased. They cut down larch and fir, and for children -- rose-willow; to cut larch or fir for children is a sin. One must select a good tree; otherwise it is a sin. They cut down one or two trees. The firewood is cut lengthwise and unfailingly a definite length: /327/ among some, up to a sagene in length (the clan of Pletunka); among others, one sagene less one hand. The roots are not touched, and the branches are thrown away. The logs are placed in three rows, lengthwise and crosswise.

[982] During the second night, too, nobody sleeps; everyone feeds the deceased (mu n'igyvyn achnind), but they do not put anything in his mouth. On the third day the yurt is cleaned -- tav mund, the floor is swept, then the fire is purified -- tugur mund, mos' is prepared, and tugur arnind is performed -- "they feed the fire" (the new master, or a clansman)-- mos' is thrown into a fire started with the branches of a fir, but nothing is said.

When all the preparations have been completed, they eat, drink vodka, and then bring in a dog sled. The deceased is placed on the dog sled, bound to it with thongs, and four men lift the dog sled and carry it on their arms out to the place of cremation. A "pryski" (dog) is tied to the place where its master slept. They walk around the future fire three times with the dog sled and the deceased, and they have a respite three times. After this the dogs and the dog sled are taken to the side, and the deceased,

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764 facing west, is placed upon the stacked firewood -- hap, the arms
folded with the palms toward the breast, and the legs bent with
the knees up (the favorite position on a plank bed. Then they pre-
[372] pare the wooden device for obtaining fire -- chkhach: tugur,
namely, a vertical stick, lung (drill); the tinder is placed in the
middle of a small stick, the fire is obtained by rubbing the lung
against this latter, and the master of the house sets fire to the
shavings.

Before (lighting the fire) they get up on the firewood and
[152] cry over the deceased. The crying is begun by women. It is a
sin for a man to cry over the deceased, except for his wife. The
wife of an elder brother, but not of a younger one, goes to cry on
the hap of a deceased bachelor.

The lamentations over the body of a husband: "My husband,
oh woe, the gay devil (crying), the gay ones killed, above me
now they go; another man now; (those who are) poorer than I will
grow rich, (be) richer than I from now on. I shall now eat only
my tears."

[152] When the fire is well under way and the flames begin to
approach the upper part of the body, they take firewood from
a prepared stack and throw it in the fire; even a small child
throws some kind of little stick; others poke the body with long
[763] sticks; this is an expression of love. If under the influence of the
fire the hands of the deceased stretch out, this is an evil omen of
the imminent death of some close kinsman, and the hands are
restored to their original position with sticks.

At the completion of the ceremony of cremation, a dog is
sacrificed, and upon killing it, its head is bent downward and
toward the appropriate deity: to Pal toward the east, to Tol --
toward the sea. Some throw away (put into a pit) the dog's skin
/328/ together with the meat; others boil the meat, for which
a special fire is laid by the side of the hap, and the meat is partly
eaten, partly scattered around. After this they set out for the
yurt of the deceased, eat a spoonful of food each, smoke a little,
and disperse.

Sakhalin

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769 231 The favorite dog, "pryski'" (every man has his own pryski') is brought to be present at the funeral ceremony, and then it is taken away to the yurt, tied to the place where the dead man slept, and fed from his bowl for three years -- if it is a man, and four years -- if a woman. After this it is sold or given as a gift, but they cannot keep it.

766 Even where cremation is practiced, insane persons after death are buried directly into the ground.

764 754 184 In Ady-Tymi, if they suspect that a person died from magic, two men with rifles are sent at night to stand guard at the place of cremation. Birds appear first, then hares and foxes and then the ormi-milk, rubbed with clay against arrows. He comes to eat the man, and if they do not kill him, then the others will die.

764 On the day following the cremation, when the fire has died out, firewood and boards are strewn on it, and on top a dog sled deliberately broken; sometimes small pieces of it are kept (as souvenirs).

Where the deceased are buried and not burned, they are placed in a coffin. Anyone can make a coffin of boards or from a boat -- two boxes. It is carried out through the door and placed on the dog sled, which in both winter and summer is carried on the arms. The required objects are placed in the coffin, some as models. Those who go along do not put on their festive clothes. The pit which they dig must accommodate the coffin up to the lid. There is no crying; kissing the deceased is a sin. It is not required that everyone throw earth into the grave. No signs are set up. Dogs are killed on the grave, but they are not fed beforehand, nor are inau put on them. The skin is immediately removed from the slain dogs and hung on a stick, while the meat is boiled right there, but it is eaten by few, and others throw it away. Boats and so forth are broken over his grave. The Gilyak is not afraid of the deceased. [769] When "good food happens," the deceased are fed for about half a year.

/328 cont./

764 To be burned is better than to be buried.

766 The one made the first mos' for a drowned man is not burned after death, but buried in the ground.

A drowned person, if he is of another clan, is not burned, but is inclosed in sticks.

If the deceased was murdered, he is not carried into the yurt, but is placed beside it. Near the place of the cremation of the murdered person, they place a "vagn'" -- a tree with the roots /329/ upward. Those who have been killed are carried off the field of battle by both sides to their villages.

764 If a person dies in a balagan, he remains there (until the funeral.

764 349 A raf (a little house with a little door, over the grave) is made in a month, or in two, three, or four months, when there is time. A raf cannot be set up in winter or spring, for the earth is frozen, and in autumn as well. During this time the deceased is absolutely not fed. A raf is prepared by common efforts.

[784] [614] On the day of the preparation of a raf, as on the day of cremation, all forms of work are prohibited for the clan members. It is prohibited ~~to fish~~, to go hunting, to make a dog sled; it is prohibited to sew, even to "make one's head," i.e., to comb one's hair, but one can sing songs. Members of alien clans are allowed to work if they did not observe the work on the construction of the raf, but the members of the same khala, if they know that a raf is being made, even if they live in a different settlement, are forbidden to work. The master who helps in the building of the raf does not receive any reward; that is a sin.

The walls of a raf are made of boards. The roof is made as on an actual house. In the middle there is a k:khak:, a double board with a stopper which closes an aperture -- kylmyz' (navel). The sharp stoppers go through a round piece of birch bark which is placed over the aperture. In the upper section are stuck a spear, arrows, hooks, and a knife. The k:khak: is wrapped in a piece of drel' of a trapezoidal shape and fastened, tied to the navel; the upper part of the k:khak: remains bare. On top of this, in front, there is an apron of the same shape, which is decorated

/329 cont./

764 349 with embroidery, with otter fur, and so forth. A hontkh -- muslin, mly (a small sack for flint), and a knife with a scabbard are tied to the belt of drel'. Vessels, food, and so forth are set in place. In the corner they place an image of the pyk (cuckoo) on a wooden support, and a wooden cup -- nirng, into which they put rice, is placed in front of it. During the building of a raf, all the belongings are broken, and everything that is broken is placed inside the raf, or, if it does not fit inside, next to it; all kinds of ornamented things may be put in the raf.

764 765 The raf, the sewing, and so forth are done on the spot. They lay a fire, begin to prepare various dishes, and bring vodka. First they themselves eat, and then they place the food in the [231] raf mu nig:yvyn arind. The pryski is untied in the morning, brought to the raf, and fed while they are eating. In addition to the boiled food, rice, buda, peas, and tobacco are sprinkled in the raf and around it. On the following day someone must come and eat up the remains of the boiled food.

/330/ After this, the mu n'igyvyn is fed no longer, though they come to look, smoke, and, frequently, to drink vodka. This continues for from two days to two or three months. The [231] pryski is then returned to its original place. It may not be sacrificed or eaten; one may not make a fur coat of its skin, either for kinsmen or for someone from the k:khal.

766 764 After the death of a murderer, at his cremation, they set up a takhch (see below, pp. 475-476), and then they make a raf anyway.

775 [761] [776] The soul and the world beyond the grave, Mlyvo. Every man is killed by a milk (evil spirit), who carries away his soul. The soul is afraid and hides with Pal-n'igyvyn or Tol-n'igyvyn, depending on which milk killed the person. The soul will return to Mlyvo in at most three years. If an old man died, he will arrive there old, if young, then young. After death in Mlyvo, the soul goes to another Mlyvo, and the soul of a woman to still a third Mlyvo, and then is born again. The soul of a man is completely similar to the man.

/330 cont./

775 The deceased travels to Mlyvo on a dog sled. If he does not have holes in his ears for earrings, an old woman inspects him on the road and makes a hole, but if the deceased does not wish this, his soul is taken away. Earrings are worn, not for decoration, but for the sake of holes in the ears. The old woman who makes the holes is called chivkhyty fi-mam, i.e., "the woman in the middle of the road."

Before the funeral the soul either stays or leaves for Mlyvo and then returns again, but after the cremation it remains in Mlyvo. The dead convey the regards of the earth kinsmen to the other world, about which they ask during lamentation. If a woman marries a second time, she will not be with her first husband in Mlyvo; the husband also takes a wife in the other world. A good woman (widowed) does not marry.

763 Indyn's (1) mother, who was sick for a long time before her death, lay on the ground in her small yurt; around the hearth sat her daughters, a married one and a little one, and (her sons), Indyn and Churka. The mother, with half-closed eyes, said: "When I die, the small children will be lost -- you will go and have fun this way and that way and will not think of them." Churka looked sidewise and said gloomily: "How can that be, am I not their brother?" And he left. Then (she turned) to Indyn: "Yes, I shall die, who will look after you, who will repair your clothing, who will feed you? You may freeze, drown. The Gilyak will abuse you, and who will say a word for you? I shall die, my lips will not defend you." Then her speech /331/ began to be confused. She looked through the opening of the roof; the stars had already come out. She said: "I must go, or else it will be too late." The sister: "Where will you go? Don't you see that you are dying?" -- "I know I shall not die -- I have to go." And with these words she died. And Churka at this time was fishing.

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[122] 1. The younger brother of Churka, Shternberg's guide.

/331 cont./

775 The dead come in a dream. Thus Indyn's mother came to
787 him several times. The last time she said to him, "Your father took me again," and she did not appear any more.

774 The big soul inhabits the entire body, and in the head of this
[231] large soul live small souls -- tarn. After the death of a person, a small soul lives in his pryski' (dog), which is tied to his plank bed. Small souls resemble eggs and are white in color. During sleep the small soul goes everywhere, talks, sees, and so forth.
[735] A poor person "still has one tiny little soul." If a person dies away from home or drowns, his soul comes home. The soul of a dog which died accidentally roams all over.

Every body has a soul, and its shape corresponds to the body. Therefore, if the body is given a certain shape, it will acquire a corresponding soul, and therefore if a throat is sore, they make
[825] a tongue, and his soul lives in that tongue. A captured bird with which children have been playing must not be let loose, for it will carry away the soul.

775 The fate of the soul depends on the kind of death. 1. A person who has been eaten by a bear lives to a ripe old age with Pal-n igyvyn (the master of the forest), while a person who drowned -- with Tol-n'igyvyn, and then they go to Mlyvo.

2. A suicide (who hung himself) goes directly to Mlyvo.

3. Those who died from an epidemic (an epidemic is caused by the bloodshed during the wars of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Russians) also go straight to Mlyvo.

4. One who died a wound (by a knife, a bow, or a rifle) lives, like a bird, in the air. The souls of such unfortunates shreik at night from the trees.

5. Until a tkhusind (ransom) is received, one who was killed by a person will also fly in the sky. If blood vengeance is taken for the dead person, both souls go to Mlyvo together.

775 The night bird takhch is of the size of a crow and just as
825 black, but its beak is red. If its cry is heard at night, one must not call it by name, but must say atk.

When a person is killed, a great number of these birds fly together into the village.

/332/

775 This bird (the soul of the slain man) enters the avenger of
825 the slain man and instills courage in him. Its image (vagn,
[532] takhchynnga) is made out of the roots of the alder tree and placed, with the roots upward, not far from the raf over the grave of the
[778] slain person. The chkhnaj of this bird must be made out of the root, and a small knife must be placed in its mouth.

775 The resurrection of the soul. The soul of the deceased will sometimes be born again. If a boy is born with a sign indicating his origin from a person who has died, he will say, even before sustained speech, words that indicate his knowledge of the past.
775
789 When he attains intelligible speech, his father puts a hat on him backwards and begins to ask him questions about the past, and then he says quietly, "Well, that is enough, forget the past," and puts the hat on him in the proper way, Then the boy forgets everything and will live for a long time. If the father does not do this, the boy will die. The procedure with the hat drives away the milk.

II.

Hunting and Fishing

224
782 Sacrifices to the sea -- Tol vyzn:d (fynydz:). 1. When winter sets in and there is not a single unfrozen patch of water on the surface of the sea, the men of the same khal'a (women do not participate) set out in the dark of night for the sea, a hole in the ice, and through it each of them throws wood -- "wood fire," which has been started with a piece of tinder -- to the sea. Later on, at home, they "eat," i.e., feast.

2. In summer, people who leave the shore in a rowboat throw things out of a bowl for sea offerings -- tol n 'ich: -- to the master of the sea, Tol yz 'dokh.

To Tol they always sacrifice a white dog, a white fir, everything smooth and clean; to Pal and Mif, on the other hand, everything fanciful; to Kur -- a red dog, a red cock, a bright cup, vodka.

/332 cont./

224 782 In the evening of the day of arrival at the hunters' balagan, they make chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) to Pal-n´igyvyn, the master of the mountains; the master says, "Az´myr sikrá, urgur n´un´ujá, munkjá" -- "there are no more presents, make it so that I am not afraid, look after us well!" They make chukh-chugynd before a particular tree (uig-chkhar -- a tabooed and forbidden tree); then they only feed the fire, saying: "Urgur in´ja, hiulan tugur mujá, pal´akh pong argujá -- eat well, make the mountain people take pity on us!" The fire may not be made by an alien k:khal. Only the master -- yz´ing -- may clean the fire, tugurmynd; /333/ the cleaning is done in the winter quarters in fall and in the summer quarters in spring; the rubbish is put in one place. Mos´ for the fire is prepared also only by the yz´ing and his k:khal, but the sacrifice may be offered by anybody. On the first evening they make the sacrifice to the hearth: "Urgur in´jà pal´akh ponargjà nula n´ivukh mungjà" -- eat well, make the mountain take pity on me, make me a happy man!" Old takhej (trees with bifurcations) are stacked together, and new ones are made. Near the balagan there is an uig-takhej on which are hung sables, nooses, and so forth. The word to it: "Pal ponargjà n´akh hiulan -- n´igyvyn mungjà!" -- "mountain, take pity on me and make me successful in hunting the bear!"

Near the balagan is an uig-chkhar to which sacrifices are thrown merely with spoons -- no chkhnaj are made. They also feed kelnung an´kh (a bitch looking into a behind) and Lymyz´n mam.

[251] Those who have arrived with the game hang it on the common takhej, where it hangs for several hours until it dries. Anyone from the same clan can take off the skin. The boiled head [252] of a sable is decorated with inau, placed on sticks on the front part of the hearth, nearer the ponang (the middle plank-bed), and rice, puchka, sarana, and mos' are stuffed through the opening in the back of its head and through its nostrils; then the head is eaten by anyone who wishes.

When the head and the bones of the animal have been put together in chumashki, sacrificial dishes are prepared, and the bones

/333 cont./

224 782 are carried into the taiga, there they find a tree with a hollow trunk, make an opening in the hollow trunk, feed the head, and throw all the bones and the head there.

The otter is fed and buried in exactly the same way as the sable. The remaining beasts are uigynd kauk (i.e., there is no taboo on them).

825 177 When a pair of reindeer horns from a mature specimen are found lying side by side in the taiga, the possession of them gives the Gilyak luck.

224 784 During the hunting with nooses (pochakhir n'arkhund), a woman must not sew anything new or give anything from her own house to another, even a member of her own clan, if that thing has spent a night in the house. One must not carry the fire outside. One must not allow any guest to spend the night. In the taiga, one may enter another's balagan, but not spend the night. If a sable is caught in a noose, an alien may not take it with his hands without the permission of the master, and in general during the hunting season the captured sable cannot be touched even by a person from the same clan if he is not a participant in the hunting party; even a killed hazel-grouse may not be touched. If [626] any person commits an uigind -- sin, they do not let him fish or hunt on the stream, and they do not attend his bear festival.

224 /334/ Sables, when caught, should not be killed by dogs. Catching a wolf. In Ikhdam (northwestern Sakhalin) they place a tree with a forked branch and sharpened edges not far from the yurt. Yukola is hung between the forked branch and the trunk; the wolf jumps up to seize it, sticks in his paw, which becomes caught, and he cannot free it. It is a sin to shoot at wolves.

225 Seals are caught thus: a net is placed around a tos' (?), and the seals sleeping on the sand are driven together; then they fall into the net.

221 [252] Mos' is made twice a year (in summer after the salmon, and in autumn before the sable). In winter one must unfailingly kill a great number of dogs oneself (a minimum of four), make plenty of mos', and in summer catch a great number of bears (this will be pal nīvukh tkhusind). In general a great deal is done for the sake of tkhusind.

/334 cont./

834 One may not sleep with a woman when nooses and traps are being set, i.e., during the narkhund, and also during a bear festival and when a man has died.

III.

342

The Building of a House and Rites and Ideas Connected with the House

[789] A flint and some sweetbrier are placed under the post. The sweetbrier guards against the milk, while the flint is there so that there will be no hole in the wood, and then the milk (evil spirit) cannot come through. The door is toward the east.

When a new yurt is finished, a festival is held. They make an inau chkhnaj (chkhnaj efn (?) ekhlung; Ady-Tymi) in the shape of a human face on each of four posts (nas'ki khar) of the house, and, for the sturdiness of the house, inau are tied to the cross rafters (nas'ki). Then they kill a dog, tie it to the nas'ki khar closest to the door, and rub the chkhnaj with the blood of its heart. The meat of the dog is boiled. Mos' is made, and the [782] chkhnajinau, the kelgelnan'kh, or (in Arkyvo) the lymyznmam, and the nich are fed. Three small firs are then placed in the hearth and tied up with two saranka -- bound with puchka (akhz); for some reason these bindings are called "little bear." After this, mos' wrapped in inau is put in three places under the ground. At night when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn the firs and say a prayer.

372
782 In the fire nearest the exit is the tugur-mam, and beyond the fire the old man tugur-ychkh. The tugur, the master of the fire, is fed with all sorts of viands; they throw them into the fire and say: "Urgur injá, urlantaf mujá!" (i.e., "eat well, be a good house!"). Next they feed each /335/ corner, repeating: "Urlan tugur mujásik urlaf parkjá, hiulan taf mujá ta chos'khejá" -- "be a good fire, do everything well, be a house that brings luck in the hunt, do not get broken!" (it is understood that the old woman

/335 cont./

372 of the fire, the tugurmam, lives there). Then they feed the four
782 inau. Furthermore, a hole is dug at the left front corner of the hearth, and they put sacrifices there, saying, "Urgur n'ĭră, nekhlang kun k:kholaf khavryr hunivaguja" -- "after eating well, make your children live without sickness," and after these words the hole is filled up. Finally, they feed the kel'nung ankh --" the bitch looking into a behind." At night, when everybody has gone to bed, it is necessary to burn a fir and say a prayer.

When the hearth is renewed in the winter quarters, small inau are set with sacrifices. In the evening they place three firs, tie them up with saranka and puchka, and then, when everyone has gone to sleep, they throw sacrifices up through the pipe: one is thrown by the women, another by the men. Before the beginning of the festival, the hearth is cleaned, covered with fresh earth, and lighted with the clan steel.

776 The spirits living in the house. Tav yzin -- the master of the house --
342 four chkhnaj, two male, two female, all pila hejmar -- old men. Tavyzing tugur yzing. This yzing was a tribesman in the past. His soul lives in the yurt in the tugur (flint box).

When the yurt breaks, the tugur must not be touched.

[688] If one breaks the tugur (box), he pays a fine.

Lymyz'n-mam -- mistress of the threshold. She is in fish skin, hunchbacked, gray, lulls crying children. When the ceremony of stamping the threshold is held, when a woman leaves for another clan, she sits in the corner at the entrance, near the cups which are placed on both sides of the threshold.

IV.

Women, Childbirth, and Children

832

Means for love. There is medicine to make another person
[825] fall in love with one. The brain of a cuckoo is mixed into tobacco (then a man soon dies), or a cuckoo feather is sewed in a dress. The girl then goes around like a mad person.

/335 cont./

832 In Tenga a girl firmly refused to marry her bridegroom who had been engaged to her in her childhood, but when okht was made, she married him.

684 If one sleeps with another's wife by force, he is beaten for it and his dogs are taken away.

843 846 [782] /336/ When a woman is pregnant, firewood must not be cut on her footprints; she must not be struck in the face, even in jest. Chukh-chugynd (a sacrifice) must not be made in the langraf (a shed for childbirth), and as soon as the child is born, the woman returns to yer yurt. From the seventh month of pregnancy, the husband of a pregnant woman is not allowed to go hunting or to travel far to set up nooses, but he can go into the 846 langraf. Broth may not be brought from the yurt to the female parent, and when she returns from the langraf, she cannot eat food prepared on the common fire until the umbilical cord (kyr) of the baby falls away, and they make her a fire in the corner. [782] When (the umbilical cord) falls away, then they feed the fire, chukhchugn-tugur, and have a feast. After that she stops being unclean -- akilaf pach:kyt -- and becomes sik urland pornyng -- clean, and her husband can cut firewood on her footprints. From the day of the birth of the child until the falling away of the umbilical cord -- kyr vakhind -- none of the people living in the yurt or even the guests spending the night may leave the house.

843 845 789 For a month before childbirth one must not bind anything tightly or mend anything for another. With difficult births, one must open up boxes, rip open patches, and unscrew the rifle.

844 843 A woman must not shriek during childbirth; otherwise she will not deliver for a long time. If the stomach is pointed, protruding, a boy will be born, if flat -- a girl. After four girls, a boy will unfailingly be born (1).

[846] [171] 1. Among the Orok a woman is in the balagan only during childbirth; then for ten days they cook for her on a separate fire; men do not eat (with her), fearing to lose their strength.

Sakhalin

/336 cont./

854 [844] A newborn baby is washed with his mother's milk for 15 days and then with cold water from the mouth. For the first year the whole body is washed twice a day, and then only the face.

854 789 Protecting the child. A stick on which the cradle is hung -- ekhl-chugir:(?). Sometimes a Japanese saber in birch bark is used instead of a stick for frightening away evil spirits. If a child dies, they preserve everything, along with the amulets, for the next child, whom they again serve; if another child is not born, they preserve them until their old age.

845 784 If a child dies during childbirth, the woman must not ride along a stream or on the sea for a whole year; there would be no fish. 854 755 789 Chkhnaj -- weapons, a little ax, a knife, a bow and arrows, are hung over the child's bedding on both sides. Over the head of a little girl's bed is hung a piece of fish net. All this is hung up at the first sickness of the child.

842 /337/ If a woman does not have children, the wife of her husband's brother gives her her belt (chik) and, secretly -- a piece of her husband's belt.

553 Names. Names are given after the grandfather, but if there are too many grandsons, a new name is thought up. One must not take names from an alien khal; otherwise one must give the latter the names from his own.

845 [776] Twins. Twins -- tongch: -- ekhlang (tongch: means "twins" and the god who gives birth to twins). Tongch: may be from Pal-n'igyvyn, i.e., the master of the forest, and Tol-n'igyvyn -- the master of the sea.

845 782 When twins are born, chukh-chugynd must be arranged for Pal-n'ivukh: mos', saranka, puchka, rare fish, etc., in small quantities; they first set them in place and then eat them themselves.

The place where the chukh-chugynd is made is called chauf. If twins die young, then they make chkhnaj -- two or one depending on how many died. A little balagan is made under the chkhnaj. Chukh-chgynd is made here also before setting out on a journey or a hunt, and also upon one's return and when the children are ill.

/337 cont./

845 Gibel'ka's wife gave birth to twins; one of the twins was a bear.

[532] A representation of twins -- tongch: -- is placed in a little
[778] storehouse. If one of the twins dies, they place one tongch:, while
[782] if both die, then two joined together on the sides. Chukh-chugynd
is given to them at the full moon and at the new moon. Kinsmen
and strangers sacrifice down to the third generation.

[775] When a twin dies, he goes to his father, Pal-n´gyvyn, who
[787] gave birth to him, appearing to his mother in a dream.

766 A dead twin is not cremated, but is seated in Turkish fashion in a specially built little house, in which a wedge is driven to support him.

He is dressed in a white shirt and trousers and is surrounded with shavings -- inau. The mother of twins is likewise not cremated after death, but is dressed in white and buried, also with inau placed around. According to B. Pilsudski, the same is done with the father of twins.

778 The tongch: helps catch bears and in hunting in general.
224 The tongch: is fed in case of sickness, especially tuberculosis
164 (Slyavo).
782

Infanticide. Infanticide is committed sometimes in secret or
847 even upon the order of the father of the underage husband of a
woman.

682 A woman who was accused by a shaman of poisoning a boy, the son of another woman, was beaten, and, after they cut off her braids, she was thrown into a funeral pyre.

753 Illness. Illness is sent either by Pal-n´igyvyn or by Tol-n´igyvyn,
776 but each of them takes a milk not from his kingdom.

/338/ A milk can be of different shapes and often is red as blood and hard as stone, but when he enters a person, he becomes lively, "as if he were walking."

732 A violently insane person is imprisoned in a cage (in
758 summer) and fed; he must not be killed.

753 Kkhmăs´ind -- to be sick from not getting what one saw and wanted. Either the one who did the seeing or his family becomes sick. Then it is imperative to get at least a small crumb of what one saw and to touch it, and the person gets well.

/338 cont./

753 159 The Gilyak Churka (1) recounted: "When I was little I saw a dog and wanted very much to have it, but did not dare. I felt ill under my armpits. I dreamed that the dog bit me in the very place that was sore. I lay just as if dead. Then my father bought the dog immediately -- he had to hurry -- and immediately fried a piece and I began to recover."

Everyone confirmed this fact. The husband of his present wife died from kkhmàs'ind.

[122] 1. L. Ia. Shternberg's guide around Sakhalin.

V.

The Rescue of a Drowning Man

752 Having heard the cry of a drowning man, they come to his aid, press down on his stomach so that the water will come out, clean his mouth with shavings, and place a stick in his mouth. Then they wrap him in fur coats and tightly bandage his face (if he looks at fire, he will die). When he becomes warm, his face [782] is uncovered. He gives chukh-chugynd to Tol and then carries out a procedure called shavynd.

752 789 A Gilyak was drowning under the broken ice. He was rescued and brought to a yurt where the rescuer-host and the one rescued sat down opposite each other; a bowl with sarana and puchka was placed before each of them on both sides, and a white dog near each of them. They hooked together with hooks which they held in their hands (an imitation of the rescue) and pulled against each other, saying: "You will live to an old age, and so will I." Then, at the departure, the rescued man stepped in the bowl of his host and in his own, and they exchanged bowls. After the exchange, the rescued man said: "Nikhkhakhrā́ --

/338 cont./

752 thank you!" If they do not exchange them, then one of them
789 will drown. After this they become friends. One must rescue
[572] an alien khal, and even good Russians (not the tramps), but a
[614] drowned person from another clan is not cremated, but is surrounded
[628] with sticks.

[766] After the rescue and the shavynd procedure, the shaman must /339/ carry out his procedure: he sends his spirit kekhn to Tol for a small soul, which lies there on a small bed.

When a person who was drowning returns in a boat rescued from death, he and his wife must break the old chumashka and make a new one. If it is not broken, husband and wife will die.

766 A man who drowned or one who was eaten by a bear will
[772] be a god.

[776] A drowned person is placed in a boat; the kinsmen get into another boat and float without rowing; they let the first boat, with the deceased, go ahead, and the deceased is cremated where it carries him to the bank. Hooks are used for pulling the body onto the bank. Inau are placed near the place of cremation. When the Tymovsk Gilyak travel to Tro, upon seeing the inau they throw chukh-chugynd (sacrifices) into the stream.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
782 fices a dog to Pal-n'ivukh and makes chukh-chugynd.

/339 cont./

VI.

Games

526 1. Ball game -- poj. The ball -- pulk -- is smaller than a fist and is sewed over with fish skin. The players are divided into two teams. It begins with the ball being thrown up and then hit away with a stick in the direction of the opponents. They must hit the ball back and must prevent the ball from flying far. If the ball gets past the opponent, then they move farther, and after them the other team. When the ball rolls or flies near, everyone with a stick in his hand tries to hit it away.

524 2. Pytyzand. A player claps his hands several times and with the lower parts of his palms hits the lower part of his chin twice, while his teeth click rhythmically. Then they hit their slightly inflated cheeks with their palms, the lips emit a fortsen -- sound -- and the teeth click. Then they hit the temples, the head, the knees.

All this is performed with such headspinning speed that it excites both the performer and the spectator.

526 3. Ter:nund -- jumping on one foot.

4. Nastumarnd -- jumping over a belt.

5. Tigrkyr -- jumping leaning on a pole.

[524) 6. Tykyryd (the Amur tykyrydz:) -- a variety of No. 2.

7. Varnd (the Amur varndz:) -- boat racing.

524 /340/ 8. Chong-king. A long narrow board has three parallel rows of nests (holes) -- up to 83 -- k:aryn^{n} ychkh (see drawing).

1:Shternberg--487 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Sakhalin

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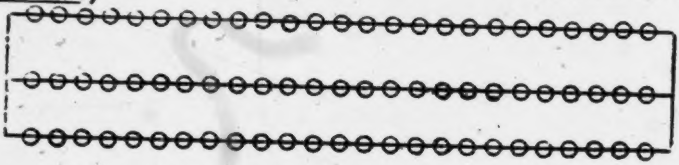
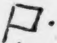
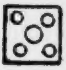
524

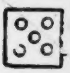


In one of the outside rows there is placed in each nest a "soldier," i.e., a vertical, round peg; also in the opposite outside row a soldier is similarly placed in each row -- a round peg, but flattened out in its upper half in the shape . They play with four cubes, each of whose sides has its sign and its name, namely:

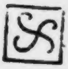
1) Chong -- a big hole in the center and four small ones in the corners.



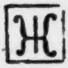
2) Kyr -- five holes distributed in the same manner, but all of the same size.



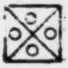
3) Kor, with a sign resembling a swastika.



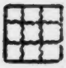
4) Tvyr -- a drawing resembling the Russian Ж.



5) Ton'dz:á -- two diagonal lines which cross each other, with holes of equal size in each of the triangles so formed.



6) Mra -- a square with two vertical and two horizontal wavy lines mutually intersecting.



The one who begins the game throws up all four cubes in a handful and then sees whether or not the chong has come up. Until the chong comes up, i.e., until the cube lands with the chong side up, the player cannot make moves. Side No. 1

/*340 cont.*/

gives the right to one move, No. 2 -- to two, etc., side No. 6 gives the right to six moves.

If the *chong* comes up, the king from the middle line changes place with the nearest of his soldiers; if still another *chong*, he changes with the next one on one move; on the remaining figures, that soldier who took the king's place in the middle line moves. Once the *chong* has come up, one may move the next time in any case. The king makes moves only after the first *chong*; then /*341*/ he lets the soldiers move. If a soldier makes several steps along the middle line and meets a soldier of the opposite camp, he jumps over him, but does not take him, and only if this latter stands on the destination of the other, is he taken. One must figure out with what figure to make a move to succeed in taking the opponent.

On a *chong*, the king, making a move, counts only the occupied places; the empty ones do not count. A king cannot be killed; if a soldier moves up to him, he lies down and waits for another move. A *chong* normally does not take a soldier, except in only the last two nests. A king can move only on a *chong*; otherwise, he moves only when he has one soldier left. The opponent is taken only when he is on a destination.

During the game one must shout what he wants: *kyr*, *mra*, etc. If a king does not have one soldier to change with, the first *chong* has no effect, but the next one gives the king the right to make a move; a soldier may make a move for him. Sometimes one must combine in order to jump over an opponent's soldier.

The basic rules of the game. The soldiers cross first to the middle line and then move forward into the enemy camp, but do not come back. When there are no soldiers on someone's battle line (basic), then the king may make moves like the soldiers, i.e., in any number.

In accordance with the soldiers knocked out of formation or moved to the middle line, the king has the right, on a *chong*, to change with his soldier, regardless of distance, but, of course, not on the middle line. At the beginning of the game the kings stand on the middle line at the ends. If a king has made backward

/341 cont./

524 steps, then he can be killed. The game continues even after the king is taken. If the old man moves back, then a soldier may kill him with a chong; if there are two chong in a row, then the king can come back (1).

524
184
[115]

1. I offer a variation of the game, recorded by me from the words of the Amur Gilyak Mladzyan, a student in the Institute of the Peoples of the North in Leningrad.

The one who begins to play after the chong comes up moves his soldier on the middle line of nests, in accordance with the number of moves which have come up (by the upper surfaces of the cubes), the appropriate number of rests, starting from the right. Then his partner does the same on his side, and when his soldier comes to land on the spot of a soldier of his partner, which is already standing there, he takes it.

After one of the partners has moved to the end of the battle line, he can, on future moves, cross over to the line of the enemy (his partner) and knock out his soldiers, and when he reaches the end of that line, he is considered the winner.

In spite of the fact that the above description differs from the description of the Sakhalin game of chong in Shternberg, we print it, for it may facilitate an understanding of the above-described variant of the game, although this latter differs considerably from that described by Mladzyan. S. Sh.

/341 cont./

VII.

Miscellanea

648 177 The exploitation of the Sakhalin natives by the Russians (Gibel'ka's story). The merchant Ivanov sorely abused the Gilyak, Ainu, Orochon; the Amur Gilyak; he ruined the Tymovsk Gilyak and others. He forced people to buy packages of tobacco and then took two or three sables per package. /342/ He collected debts by force, breaking into the storehouses, breaking trunks, holding in one hand a revolver and a dagger. He used to give some kind of okht to women (see above, p. 480, "Women, Childbirth, and Children"), and they slept with him. Then he became rich.

But the god did not forget all his deeds. Once his son went boating on the Amur and drowned. The Gilyak in Pronga recognized the cast-up body and informed the mother. But when she arrived the body was gone; she saw only the tracks of a bear. By these footprints she reached the place where the bear dealt with its prey. Only a gold ring was left at the scene of the feast. The mother cried and cried and went back. Ivanov himself, not yet an old man, began to pine and to lose weight; no medicines helped. Finally he died. The Yakut Semenchuk was one of those who dug him a grave on the cemetery hill. But the hole filled with water, and, no matter how they dug, the water kept increasing. This was the tears of those people whom he had abused. These tears do not disappear. Alongside of it a grave was dug for another, a poor person, and it was without water.

867 A good father teaches his son not to abuse anybody, not to laugh at anybody.

567 Slaves -- krygrys (1894). In Kuklyakh (?) a krygrys was exchanged for a woman. In Vaydakh -- a krygrys, Khyumik, a limping woman; she was beaten and beaten, everyone ordered her about," "she did not have time to eat"; one could not sleep with her, for no one wanted to have krygrys children. There were krygrys also in Tongakh, Tevakh, Kutr. The atk (see p. 222, IV) of Gibel'ka had krygrys.

/342 cont./

197 The Tymovsk and the Okhotsk Gilyak have one language.

/343/

823 A legend about three brothers-cliffs in Aleksandrovsk on Sakhalin.
773 Three Heng brothers went with a bear to look at a cast-up whale
(kem), and then all of them turned into stone. Two jags -- mother
and daughter -- look after them.

825 A rat must not be killed with an ax; a stick is necessary.
761 Nakhvun's wife is dying because her father killed a rat with an
ax; his son died for the same reason, and now his daughter is
dying.

825 The attitude toward incest among dogs. According to the words of the Gilyak, among dogs a brother and sister do not copulate; exceptions are rare and are attributed to the milk. Dogs are killed for this; otherwise this heavy sin falls on the master; he will be punished with sickness and so forth. Father and daughter among dogs frequently have intercourse, but they are not killed for this.

302 Hair may be thrown away in any place.

752 A person who has been rescued from death by a bear sacri-
825 fices chukh-chugynd -- a dog -- to Pal-n'igyvyn. No one may
[782] look at a person wounded by a bear; only an old man or an old
woman binds his wounds. His bed is curtained off with a sail.

224 In need they sometimes eat a bear that has died, and
825 they treat him like a killed one. When they set off some-
[261] where (hunting) or in general on important business, they al-
ways take along their favorite ymgi (son-in-law).

773 In Mil'kvo one Gilyak had two women. Once his daughter with the grandchildren came to visit him. She went to gather berries while the men went out to hunt seals. Then

/343 cont./
773 the women boiled the grandchildren, ate them, ran into the taiga, and disappeared.

778 776 789 Chnyr-chkhnaj. If a loss has occurred, they make chnyr-chkhnaj, a figure of grass, and beat it (thresh it); if the chkhnaj is good, the lost thing will be found on the following day. If it is not known what milk caused the harm, chnyr-chkhnaj is hung up over the plank bed and fed.

685 For stealing bear meat or a fishing rod, the face is maimed.

158 [774] Kleptomania. There are thieves-kleptomaniacs, for example, Sentukh from Ady-Tymi. After his brothers threatened to kill him, he ran away to /344/ Lungvo. There he and his wife continued doing the same. He has one soul -- a rat sitting in his belly. The things that tempt him shine in the dark for him. The Gilyak confined themselves to depriving him of the things.

756 774 The shaman Koynyt's father, from Tro, once noticed that his trousers had disappeared. He began to shamanize, found a rat in the belly of a woman, killed it, and on the following day the woman died.

683 Over an insult it is necessary to fight with sticks (chkharkirvand) or pay tkhusind, or take something by force. Frequently they kill over an insult.

787 Fortunetelling with a stone parnkhasind, with a kettle. The parnkhasind replies thanks to the chekhn. If the kettle swings straight, one has hit the mark; if to the side -- one has not hit it. If one has hit the mark, he must make a wooden chkhnaj, hang it around his neck, and feed it.

/344 cont./

VIII.

Folklore (1)

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1. The two tales printed below were found in Shternberg's archives without a Gilyak text. All the remaining folklore materials not included in Volume 1 of his Materialov po izucheniiu giliatskogo iazyka i fol'klora /Materials for the study of the Gilyak Language and Folklore/ are planned for separate publication. S. Sh.

539 Tale No. 1. Once upon a time two brothers, no mother, no sister, no one, lived alone quietly by themselves. In the spring they went to hunt a bear, one in one direction, the other in the other one. The elder brother sat down to s--t (in great need); a fishing rod from the sky caught (him) and took him into the sky. The younger brother searched for but did not find his brother. He returned home alone. At night, when he was asleep, he dreamed (tyjnd) that a Gilyak came and said that his brother was taken into the sky.

"Be careful, you, too, will be taken into the sky." He woke up and began to look for the Gilyak, no one!

He took a long leather rope and a pole and make a large shed. In the morning he went to s--t, the fishing rods descended, grabbed him, and picked him up. The chain broke and fell. He looked; the chain was all gold. With the chain there were four small bells -- (k:ongkh): ~~;~~ three large, one small. The Gilyak did not touch anything. There was a whole pile of chain.

The following night he was sleeping -- someone got the chain and the little bell, and the little bell rang. In the morning he did not find them; he looked in the storehouse -- bears' heads. He went fishing and caught a whole boatful of small, small fish. One small, beautiful fish /345/ was unfamiliar; he put it in the bow of his boat. Upon approaching a seal, he saw smoke from his yurt. He thought: "Where is that coming from, are we on fire?"

/345 cont./

And he was still sitting on the bank and thinking thus.

At this point a little boy came running toward him. He caught the beautiful fish and ran away home. He began to think, what sort of boy is this, he must look, find out. He went into the yurt, looked: two women, his elder brother, the little boy. Both women were the daughters of Tlyik Tol-n'ivukh, taken to the sky by Tly-n'ivukh.

The elder daughter loves the Sakhalin Gilyak very much; she lowered a fishing rod and dragged off the Gilyak. Then the younger sister lowered her fishing rod and it broke. The younger had a son from one of the Tly n'ivukh; she did not want him; it was impossible to catch anything with the fishing rod; they descended.

To lose a little bell -- means to lose one's reason. When they took the little bells, it seemed as if their reason returned. The younger brother took the younger sister; the little boy became the son of this brother. The wife began cleaning fish.

The elder brother said to the younger /fem./: "Here is your husband, and this fish will be yours, go, clean it and dry it." She took a knife and went. Her husband thought: "I shall do a little smoking and then go and dry the fish." He finished smoking, went outside, and his fish was already prepared. Then they lived richly. They put the little bells with their things, and they had (everything).

Tale No. 2. Tylgund (from Obona). The first Gilyak was born in Aleksandrovsk. He caught a fish, caught Tarmyk-cho; he could not kill it because it was umgu, and he threw it alive into the sea again; on the following day he again caught it -- "threw it into the sea, did not tell anybody." He did that many times. In the summer the fish gave birth to a little boy and cast him on the shore. The man saw: "Who is this little boy?" If he has a father, he will come and take him. The father found out, took the little boy, and made a balagan on the shore; by the side of the boy there was a big dagger, which his father took with him. The Gilyak gathered grass (konkhong), made a bed, and they settled

/345 cont./
down; no one knew. They were sleeping; he dreamed (that the fish said to him: "This is your little boy, see to it that no one knows. Feed him well. If another Gilyak looks, the little boy will die. You will have many fish, in hunting you will have many sables and bears." Many days passed, and there were many fish. In autumn he went to set nooses; the god provided 50 sables; he looked for bears in the ridges and killed three bears. One more year passed, and the little boy grew rapidly, the little boy began to carry the dagger -- the ytk (father) became old -- and the god gave many fish to the little boy; then he went after the bears /346/ and killed many with the dagger, no weapons except the dagger; he killed 30 bears. On one occasion the largest bear came. The bear wanted to eat him, but he struck it in the head with the dagger, and the bear ran away alive; again the little boy went home and lay down to sleep. Again he had an uyngid. Pal-n'ivukh came with a hole in his head and blood and said: "T'arty! You constantly strike our head with your dagger; if you are strong, I shall not kill you, if I am strong I shall kill you. Now you will have ukhmund." The little boy again went to hunt for bear. The big bear himself came; the bear immediately grabbed the dagger that was hanging on his body and the little boy was not able to get at it. Then they entered into single combat; they wrestled for a long, long time, and both fell dead.

A bear argued with a chipmunk /burunduk/: "I am afraid only of dogs." And the chipmunk said: "And I am not at all afraid of dogs." The first: "I am afraid of arrows." The second: "And I am not afraid of arrows." The bear became angry and scratched the chipmunk with its paw. Hence, five spots (?--illegible. S. Sh.) on the back of the chipmunk.

A noose said to a trap: "Go ahead and catch by yourself, I shall not catch." The trap said: "You go yourself and catch," etc. As a result they did not catch anything.

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

/347/

114
113

The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet
characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemp-
tuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even
with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and
baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-
829 Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are
"khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" --
one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese
kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father,
ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress,
woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material be-
197 low. The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the
language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur
and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite dis-
tinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on
127 Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the conti-
174 nent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and
interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclu-
sion which could have been made a priori. The census first of
all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from
the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settle-
ment of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur,
which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of
[614] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo,
one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of
Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose in-
habitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement
of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved
that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan
which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language,
[184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the
Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the
continental coast,

/348 cont./

174 With one's imagination it is not hard to recreate even the
166 form of the migration. Even at the present time the Amur Gilyak
167 are in the habit of setting out for Sakhalin in their heavy boats
221 each autumn to hunt for sable. Some travel to Agnevo, others
224 to Mauko, still others farther to the south. The sable in their
[136] homeland is incomparably better than the Sakhalin one, but he
is so rare and those who hunt him are so many that the Gilyak
prefer to leave their family hearths for as long as six months and
to subject themselves to all the dangers of a thousand-verst sea
voyage, striving toward those tempting areas where the population
is sparse and sables may be killed by the hundreds. In early
spring, loaded with their rich catch, they return to their distant
hearths. These journeys to the south of Sakhalin are of a comparatively recent origin. As late as one hundred years ago the
ancestors of the present-day sable hunters did not travel beyond
Dué and the Tym', River, and at that time the Vaaz River was
the northernmost point of their hunting. There is no doubt at all
that in former times sable-hunting expeditions set out even farther
[648] to the north. There must have been some reason which compelled the Amur Gilyak to travel farther and farther away from
their homeland and finally to transfer the center of their hunting
activities to the very south of Sakhalin, where the sable is quite
poor and where their ancestors had been forced to buy from the
Ainu the hunting territories which they now use. /349/ The
reason is to be found in the gradual settling of northern Sakhalin
by Gilyak from the continental coast. Originally, the ancestors
of the contemporary Sakhalin Gilyak, like the Amur Gilyak of the
present day, traveled to Sakhalin in companies of kinsmen only
in the season for sable hunting. Here they set their numerous traps
on the banks of some stream and placed snares along the natural
dams used by the sable for crossing from one side of the river to
the other. It is not surprising that an annual pilgrimage to the
same area for hunting ended in permanently settling on this island
rich in sable.

Sakhalin
Amur

/349 cont./

174 167 Northern Sakhalin was especially favorable for resettling
(it is interesting that only the northern part of the island is
called Sakhalin by the Gilyak, which is additional evidence as to
whence and in what direction the settling of Sakhalin proceeded).
In the first place, these were the places closest to the continent:
half a day to a day's trip between the shores of the strait. More-
[136] over, in addition to an abundance of sables in northern Sakhalin,
the Gilyak from the continental coast found other living condi-
tions completely identical with those on the continent: the same
abundance and rich variety of fish (Siberian salmon, kaluga
/Huso dauricus/, sig /a species of salmon/, carp, etc.), an
abundance of seals and dolphins. The Amur Gilyak were the
only ones who found it disadvantageous to leave the banks of their
[175] [648] irreplaceable Amur. They cannot bring themselves to do it even
now, crowded into their hunting and fishing reservations by the
Russian settlers and forced to bear the entire burden of free
official transportation along the Amur. There were, of course,
still other reasons which induced the continental Gilyak to move
to Sakhalin, for instance, density of population, conflicts be-
175 167 648 [435] tween clans, and so forth. One of these reasons may have been
the Manchu reign with its mandatory annual tribute of a sable
per person (we must remember that in the past sable was three
or four times more expensive than it is now, while the Amur
sable is still very expensive; one variety, for example, the
[173] Amgun, costs 25-30 rubles). The legends of the Gilyak them-
selves about their former relations with the Manchu are of
interest: "We were settled," the Amur Gilyak said to me, "on
the banks of the Amur by the Manchu, as free men, with the
title of 'hunters,' and we were obliged to pay them one sable
per person every year." Moreover, every time a Gilyak went
to the Chinese town of Sungari (Saising), he was forced to pay
one sable and the /350/ starosti of the settlements three sables
[171] each. The Orochon were also in the same position. Manchu
officials made a census of the population, and every year in the
summer they would come to collect the sable tribute. The
Sakhalin Gilyak were free from this tribute, but eventually the

Sakhalin

175 /350 cont./
167 Manchu reached them also and installed elected starosti. There
648 was such a starosta, for example, in Tangak. It was from the
Manchu that the Gilyak used to obtain all those objects which they could not produce themselves.

174 I shall not at this time enter into the question of how long
167 the Gilyak have inhabited the island. I shall only say that when they first appeared there they must have been in possession of the entire economic inventory which they possess at the present time (with the exception, naturally, of firearms). Needless to say, the Gilyak could not have existed on Sakhalin without sleds and boats, without trained sled dogs, and without iron tools, etc. His first cultural products must have been made in areas which were especially favorable, at least with regard to fishing. It may be that the Amur River was such a cradle.

177 The Sakhalin Gilyak, like their fellows on the continent,
41 have taken many very basic things from their civilized fellows.
325 They have replaced the bow with the gun, their dishes made of
342 wood and birch bark with metal kettles. They forge iron and
354 artfully work with carpenters' and cabinetmakers' tools. They
291 build yurts in the Manchu style and make stoves and tremendous
292 chimneys of stone. They master Japanese sabers and they preserve
262 expensive spears decorated with silver inlays. They wear robes
244 and shirts made of Chinese and Russian fabrics. They drink tea
and boil rice and buda (a special variety of groats). They have finally begun to plant potatoes. In the near future they may, perhaps, completely adopt the culture of their civilized neighbors. On what did they stop in their own independent cultural development?

177 Of all the borrowings made by the Gilyak, the use of iron
325 is the most important and the oldest. Because of their remoteness from the centers of civilization, however, it has come to them in an extremely limited form. They not only do not know how to process ore, but are even incapable of making tools. Until recently iron itself was very expensive among them. Their boats and sleds do not contain a single iron nail, though the Gilyak

/350 cont./
177 themselves give a reason other than the scarcity of iron for this.
325 As recently as a generation ago a steel was a valuable thing, /351/
[372] and sometimes an entire clan possessed a single communal steel.
Even at the present time rubbing wood against wood is regarded
as the most sacred method of obtaining fire -- a method used in
177 burning the deceased. All the other borrowings are just as much to
the credit of the Gilyak as the borrowing of the long-range British
rifle is to that of the Turk, but by their consequences these borrowings
have inextricably bound the Gilyak with culture... But
let us return to that on which their civilization stopped.

262 Even at the present time, the basic food of the Gilyak is
241 the ready products of nature -- fish, fowl, berries, roots; he
181 is as yet incapable of helping nature along and accelerating her
492 creation of foodstuffs. He does not plant or sow, or raise domestic
252 animals for meat. This is the fundamental feature of a
415 "savage" state. Moreover, Gilyak traditions of times when
323 water was boiled in troughs by means of hot stones and their
174 memories of wooden dishes coated with clay, and the absence
173 of any memory of clay dishes, convince us that the Gilyak have
never been acquainted with even the most elementary form of
the art of pottery. This again is a feature of the condition of
"savages." Along with these, we have another fact -- the training
of dogs for sled travel -- a trait which raises them one step
to the first stage of barbarism (to use the terminology of the
authoritative writer, Morgan). The most characteristic fact,
however, in the question of the cultural level of the independent
development of the Gilyak, a fact which is decisive and makes
possible broad ethnographic correlations, is their family-clan
institution, which I have studied in great detail.

/351 cont./

II.

Family-Clan Relations

59 601 When one observes the family among the Gilyak, one at first does not notice anything special about it. As among many of our other natives, the Gilyak buys one or two, formerly three, wives, who are his socially recognized wives, as are his children who work with him, are supported by him, and to whom his property passes after his death. The marital fidelity of a wife is guarded with an armed hand, as we shall see below. In a word, the form of marriage is, to all appearances, completely individual /individual marriage as opposed to group marriage/. But on closer acquaintance with the inner structure of Gilyak life /352/ one encounters a whole series of phenomena which are at variance 601 with this form of marriage. First of all, it becomes apparent that a Gilyak calls by the name of father (ytk) not only his socially recognized (own) father, but also all the brothers of his father, not only own, i.e., of the first degree of kinship, but also of all the most distant degrees, and the wives of these brothers of his father he calls mothers (ymk), like his own mother. In the same way, a Gilyak calls all the sisters of his mother by the name of mother (ymk), and their husbands father (ytk). The children of brothers, as well as the children of sisters, of all degrees of kinship call one another "ruvn" (= brother and also corresponds to the German word "Geschwister" = brothers and sisters). Thus, we see what seems to us a strange phenomenon, that a person may have a tremendous number of fathers and mothers, not to speak of brothers and sisters, and such fathers and mothers are often younger than their children. But, at the same time, a Gilyak does not call the sisters of his father and the brothers of his mother "ytk" and "ymk," but "edr" and "app."

601 171 For other forms of kinship relations, the Gilyak have a whole series of names, which proves that it is not poverty of language which is the cause of this, to us, strange kinship terminology. A similar terminology exists among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes of North America, and also among certain tribes of India,

/352 cont./
601 but among them it has long since ceased to correspond to reality;
[171] among the Gilyak, however, although the terminology does not
fully correspond to reality, it does so all but fully. Even now,
601 every Gilyak has marital rights (it is not considered a sin) to the
835 wives of his brothers of all degrees of kinship and to all the sisters
of his wife. Only the elder brother is deprived of this right with
regard to the wives of his younger brothers. This limitation is of
recent origin, and its very existence seems to emphasize the
legality of the collective marital rights of the younger brothers
to the wives of their elder brothers and to all the sisters of their
wives. Even at the present time these rights are not always exercised
by the Gilyak, and in many cases it is not without displeasure
and even forcible protests that the interested parties
look upon the realization of these rights, as we shall eventually
see; but legally, so to speak, they exist, the realization of these
rights is not considered adultery, is not punishable, and often is
even carried on openly with the consent of the brothers and of the
601 husbands of the wife's sisters. Thus, the contemporary individual
835 form of marriage is a new phenomenon among the Gilyak, and the
171 powerful remnants of the old /353/ order of clan marriage preserved
[178] up to the present make it similar to the famous so-called
"Punalua family," which still existed in the first half of our
century on the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) where, as among the
Gilyak, such mutual rights to the wives of brothers and to the
wife's sisters existed without limitations. And, what is still more
remarkable, just as the husbands of sisters and the wives of
brothers in the Punalua family called one another punalua (companion,
one's half, comrade, friend) -- the word which gave
the name to the institution itself, so among the Gilyak these
categories of people call one another "navkh" (the word signifying
literally what punalua means among the inhabitants of the Sandwich
Islands). Such, down to the smallest detail, is the astounding
similarity of primitive institutions of peoples living in different
parts of the world and separated by oceans.

/353 cont./

601
614 This form of family-kin relationship serves as the basis for the social organization of the Gilyak and is the basis of their clan organization ("khal'" -- clan, also clansmen).

From what has been said of the primitive family of the Gilyak, it is obvious who constitutes their clan. All of the brothers (of all degrees of kinship) of the father of some Gilyak NN are his fathers (ytk), their fathers are his grandfathers (ate), their children are his brothers ("ruvn"), their grandchildren are his children ("ola"), and mutually. It is this huge family of grandfathers, fathers, children, brothers and sisters that constitutes the clan of the Gilyak. It is understandable that a clan so constituted [162] may be composed of a great number of people. In one clan in northern Sakhalin, I counted 150 people, and this is only a branch of a clan which lives on the mainland.

But the clan of the Gilyak is organized on the male basis. Even though the children of a sister of NN's wife are his children (ola) and they are considered brothers of his own children, if these sisters of the wife are married to Gilyak of a different khal', then they, i.e., the children of these sisters, will be alien to the clan of NN. Similarly, only the wives of clansmen and their unmarried daughters belong to the clan, and, conversely, when married, a woman passes over to the clan of her husband, while the dissolution of the marriage brings her back into her father's clan. Here are the principles which regulate the life of a clan:

1. The clan has only four degrees of kinship: grandfather and grandmother (atk and ytik), fathers and mothers (ytk and ymk), brothers and sisters (ruvn), and children (ola). Clansmen call one another "khal'" in contrast to aliens. To distinguish own brothers from own kinsmen of the first degree of kinship, the word khal' is added, so that clan brothers are /354/ khal'-ruvn, clan fathers -- khal'-ytk, etc. The elder of the clan, whose role will be described below, is called "khal'-geymar." Clansmen as thinking and acting social units bear the name of "khal'-nivukh."

/354 cont./

614 2. Marriage within the clan is absolutely forbidden. This is a basic and inviolable principle of the clan. However broad the marital rights of the Gilyak are with regard to women of the categories mentioned, however broad the views of the Gilyak are on the relationship of men and women in general ("love forgives everything"), *within the clan* neither marriage nor adultery is encountered, even as an exception.

614 3. The wife of a deceased Gilyak is transferred, following
587 the decision of the clan, to one of the *ruvn* of the deceased,
generally to a younger one; even though she be assigned to a
ruvn who is older than the deceased, he is obliged to support her,
although he cannot live with her as with a wife. But under no
circumstances can the wife of the deceased pass to the persons in
the ascending or descending line of kinship from the deceased,
i.e., to his *khal'-ytk*, *atk*, *ola*. Generally speaking, as a rule,
a woman living as a wife (*de facto*), with someone may under no
circumstances belong to anyone in the ascending or descending
line of kinship with her first husband. This rule is observed as
strictly as the prohibition against internal marriage. Therefore,
614 it is easy to understand why a Gilyak looks on many marriages
[829] concluded among us between near relatives as incest. From this
it follows that it is of the utmost necessity for a Gilyak to know
all his clansmen, who are often very numerous and, in addition,
scattered over the most distant parts of Gilyak territory. This
knowledge of his own clan constitutes one of the elements of the
[867] mental upbringing of a Gilyak. This knowledge passes from
father to son, it is renewed with life, and is the possession of the
[623] whole clan. In doubtful cases of kinship, the questions are de-
cided by the elders in the clan.

614 973 4. The *khal'* supports all the old people, the sick, the incapacitated, and other helpless persons. Generally this is done by the nearest kinsmen, but, in the absence of such, the person is supported by that yurt of the *khal'* where he wants to live. "We do not have any beggars," one Gilyak told me, "if someone is poor, he is fed by the *khal'*."

182 /354 cont./
614 5. The members of the clan are bound together by common
796 sacrifices and festivals. The "festival of the bear," known to
[574] everybody, is held, not by an individual settlement, but by the clan, even though /355/ guests from other clans are invited to take part. The bear is bought by someone in the clan, but all the expenditures in connection with the festival are covered by the clansmen. These expenses often reach a sum of several hundred rubles. Clansmen assemble from all directions, as well as great numbers of specially invited guests from other clans, who have to be entertained and fed for many days, and not only they, but their numerous dogs as well, devour a great amount of food during the festival. The opinion that the bear festival has a religious character or that the bear is considered to be divine or a spirit by the Gilyak is completely unfounded. The bear festival is purely a
[224] clan festival. Naturally, there were times when a successful attack on a bear, an attack conducted in those days collectively, by the whole clan, was a real triumph for the clan, which devoured the huge beast at a common feast. Since the attack on the bear was most conveniently made in winter when the sleeping animal was captured in his lair, the custom of celebrating this holiday in winter was perpetuated. The experience of centuries evolved a full ritual for the festival, which, like everything old, assumes in the eyes of the barbarian the character of something sacred and inviolable.
[782] All the sacrifices during the festival are made, not to the bear, but
[776] to the god of the taiga, the master of the bear -- "Pal'-nivukh."
[825] It is also understandable that the bear itself has acquired a position of honor: Its meat cannot be thrown to the dogs, it cannot be eaten with seasonings, etc. "Pal'-nivukh" himself will exact revenge for such offenses, ordering other bears to bite especially
[562] hard. To sum up, the bear festival is a clan festival, and, on this basis, women, as the nonpermanent element of the clan, are not present at the killing of the bear, although they
614 participate in the eating of it. The fire in the stove in which
372 the meat of the bear is cooked is started only by the clan
[252] steel. A touching custom among the Gilyak is

614 372 167 /355 cont./ A touching custom among the Gilyak is connected with this steel. When a clan is divided and part of it emigrates to another place, the elder in the clan (khal'-geymar) breaks off a half of the steel and hands it over to the elder among the departing clansmen. With this steel the new settlers will light the fire on a new hearth at the bear festival, and it will be handed from clan to clan for the same purpose. Hence the expression "to break the fire" came to signify the separation of the clan. This custom reminds us of Greece, where those leaving their native land to found new colonies used to take with them the sacred fire of the home altar.

614 225 782 [562] Another clan festival is held in the spring before the hunting of the seal. On this occasion, too, the expenses of the refreshments are borne by the /356/ clan. With the approach of evening, when the moon rises, the entire male population of the clan (again the women are excluded) goes to the seashore. Here, in long troughs, they bring all the choicest viands which, carefully prepared, had been left untouched for the moment of the sacrifice. Then all those present squat down and each throws into the sea a handful from each trough as a sacrifice to the deity, pronouncing the customary formula of prayer: "Kur niongu-khia!" ("God, please!"), after which they gather in one yurt, where the refreshments begin, in which the women take part.

614 682 628 6. The khal' guarantees life and security to each of its members from encroachment on him by the individuals of another khal'. The means is clan vengeance.

[177] The settling of Russians in the region, it is true, has weakened considerably the efficacy of this institution, but has not destroyed it. Every murder, intentional or unintentional, calls for clan vengeance. The closest clansman of the murdered man -- his father, son, or brother, and in their absence his other clansmen -- must, in the figurative expression of the Gilyak, "raise up the kindred bones" (nyn'vo yozynedzh), i.e., kill the murderer or at least some person of the male sex of his khal'. And the wrath of vengeance is so great that not even newborn children are spared. I have heard that the unhappy mothers of such children, out of fear of the avenger, have resorted to

628 /356 cont./
614 every means to mask the sex of the newborn child. Only women
682 are excluded from acts of vengeance. It is understandable that
[562] from the first moment of the murder there begins a painful, burdensome period for both clans. The clan of the murderer lives under a true sword of Damocles, awaiting a stroke from any corner, at any time, and in any place. The clan of the slain man feverishly tracks down its victim, who is on the lookout and in any case does not intend to give up his life cheaply. At the same time, in the first minutes immediately after the fateful murder, the clan of the murderer sends some person from a neutral khal' (necessarily neutral; a clansman would be killed) to the clan of the murdered man with apologies and an offer of ransom. But not always, and in any case not speedily, is accord obtained; sometimes years pass until, weary of the unsuccessful hunt, the clan of the avenger consents to a reconciliation.

I shall describe one of the many variants of the procedure for
614 reconciliation and ransom. Each of the hostile clans selects from
628 some neutral clan an able and eloquent /357/ man ("khlay-nivukh" --
682 literally: orator -- from the verb "khlayndzh" -- to speak, and
537 the noun "nivukh" -- man). These will be the intermediaries be-
[292] tween the parties. Each clan provides its khlay-nivukh with a silk
gown, a cap of the same material, bow and arrows, a spear, and sometimes a Japanese saber. This is, so to speak, the official uniform of the intermediaries. One fine day, an armed deputation of khal'-nivukhi (clansmen), with the avenger and the khlay-nivukh at their head, appears near the hostile settlement. Then, somewhere in the nearby taiga or on the bank of some stream, the new arrivals light a fire and, so to speak, make their camp. From here the khlay-nivukh of the avengers sets out for the village of the murderer, where in one yurt his assembled clansmen khal'-nivukhi), with their orator at their head, await the emissary. The latter, having sat down and lighted his pipe (necessarily with his own flame), begins to set forth the demands for ransom. The role of the khlay-nivukh consists of stipulating as much as possible. The clansmen of the murderer reply with excuses and with a plea for a reduction of the conditions of the ransom. But the khlay-nivukh

/357 cont./

614 of the avengers, stubbornly insisting on his demands, departs in
628 anger. The khlay-nivukh of the murderer goes after him and
682 tries to enter into negotiations with his comrade-in-arms. More
537 than once the two diplomats seat themselves on the ground and
light their pipes, each with his own steel, until they finally reach the camp of the avengers, where the negotiations continue. It sometimes happens that the khlay-nivukhi move back and forth in this fashion from one camp to another for two or three days. Finally an agreement is reached. Now the company of the avengers begins to draw near the settlement, and out to meet them come the clansmen of the murderer, and both sides finally stop, facing each other within the distance of a bowshot. From one side, accompanied by his khlay-nivukh, the avenger steps forward, in gala attire, with a spear and a drawn bow; from the other steps the slayer, also with a drawn bow, side by side with his khlay-nivukh. The bow of each adversary is aimed directly at the heart of his enemy... A momentary flare-up -- and blood may flow. But the khlay-nivukhi strictly restrain the adversaries, speaking over and over again about peace and forgetting. And this is not merely a ritual, for there have been cases where in that minute the avenger has boiled over with wrath and slain his enemy on the spot. Then the adversaries simultaneously throw down their arms, run toward each other, and embrace. The reconciliation has been achieved, and the clansmen of the avenger, together with the latter, peacefully enter the yurt of the slayer, where the stipulated objects of ransom are laid before the plank beds and where /358/ excellent refreshments have been prepared. In another variant, the avenger and the slayer stand close, facing each other, each with his spear resting against the breast of his enemy; when the khlay-nivukhi call upon them for reconciliation, each of the clansmen on each side leads a dog between them, and then these animals are killed with spears (blood for blood).

/358 cont./

614 It is quite natural that the ransom should correspond to the
628 condition of the murdered man and the wealth of the clan of the
682 murderer. This explains to us the origin of the ancient punish-
ments for murder among the Germanic and Slavic tribes, among
whom there was no set amount for the fine (blood money); it
depended on the rank and wealth of the murdered man. It is
natural, also, that an unintentional killing entails a much smaller
ransom than an intentional one. The entire khal' of the murderer
participates in the payment, each according to his means. A
614 murder within the clan finds its avengers among the closest
627 kinsmen of the murdered man and in the brother of his mother
682 (i.e., a person from an alien clan, and he gets half of the
ransom). An unintentional slaying within the clan among the
Amur Gilyak incurs no consequences.

614 The khlay-nivukhi obtain as a reward for their labors their
627 fine costumes, arms, and a dog. In conclusion, it must be said
628 of vengeance that among the Gilyak vengeance is a sacred and
[537] obligatory debt. And in life one must be indulgent toward
phenomena of this sort. The Gilyak take vengeance frequently,
not from any predisposition toward it, but from obligation. Re-
[762] venge is also extended to cases where someone has been driven
to suicide, but in such a case the affair ends with the payment
of a ransom or the infliction of property damage on the guilty
person.

614 One of the forms of clan vengeance is war. Wars between
628 clans came to an end with the appearance of the Russians, but
72 the recollection of them lives in the popular memory; they tell
[177] of them in tales; they sing of them in songs. Women were the
most frequent cause of wars. A Gilyak abducts a woman and then
falls into the hands of the kinsmen of the abducted woman; they
kill him -- and a cause for war is provided. And, in general,
injuries inflicted by the entire clan ended in war. There was
no preliminary declaration of war. Once a clan had inflicted a
blood injury on another clan, it awaited the unavoidable attack.
And indeed, one fine day the whole adult population of the injured
clan, armed with bows, spears, and knives, set off on an expedition

/358 cont./
614 in boats or sleds, according to the time of the year. The attack
628 was ordinarily made at night. In expectation of it, the whole
72 adult male population, armed, /359/ gathered in one yurt. The
women and children remained alone in other yurts, since, by the
international law of the Gilyak, the women, children, and also
the property of the foe was inviolate in time of war. In each
[342] yurt there was a secret exit in case of an unexpected attack. At
the first alarm of war they went out by the secret passage and
organized an ambuscade somewhere beyond the yurts. The
struggle continued for the night in one variant, longer according
to others, but there is no doubt that there was a customary period
of time for slaughter. Upon the expiration of the allotted period
of time, the foe departed, while those attacked began to count
the dead. If a smaller number had fallen on their side than on
the side of the assailants, the affair had no sequel; otherwise
they were obliged to reply to the attack with war. The attacking side, in any case, had to consider itself satisfied. For the
[501] eventuality of meeting at sea an enemy boat which might wish to
exchange arrows, boats had a movable parapet in the forward part
for defense against the foe's arrows.

411 Concerning the former warlike propensities of the Gilyak,
we have the eloquent testimony of the heavy spears with silver
fretwork, guarded today as a treasure, which even quite recently
served for more than mere decoration.

614 7. In certain instances, but quite rarely, the clan adopts
597 persons from another clan. It was always profitable for a clan to
have as many members as possible. On the other hand, the
existence of an individual outside of the clan or hostile toward
his own clan was a terribly burdensome thing. During the census
some of the persons encountered declared that their entire clan
had died out. In such cases and similar ones an alien clan came
[729] to their assistance with the right of adoption. Undoubtedly in time
of war, when the whole male adult population might fall in
battle, the women entered the clan of the conquerors in the
capacity of wives, while the children of the male sex were
adopted en masse. The adopted individual is accepted into some

/359 cont./

614 597 family in the capacity of a son or brother and is so considered in the clan. In one settlement on northern Sakhalin, I met a flourishing and numerous family, which many years ago had been adopted by the principal clan of the settlement. It had appeared from the shores of Okhotsk, poor and hungry, and asked to be taken into a clan of the settlement, which meant that it must be fed and supported until better times. At the present /360/ time this family is the pride of the clan which adopted it. But, in general, instances of adoption are rare, especially by families, for the number of women whom it is permissible to marry is thereby restricted for the clan (marriage within the clan is prohibited, as has been said above).

614 426 8. The clan constitutes a juridical unit with regard to the debts of the clansmen. In the event of the insolvency of a clansman and his closest kinsmen, the clan is obliged to assume the debt of the insolvent person.

614 428 9. As a general rule, property must not leave the clan of a deceased person. Concerning inheritance in particular we shall speak elsewhere. For the present we shall say only that in this regard among the Gilyak the well-known rule of the Twelve Tables finds literal application: "Si suos heredes non habet, gentiles familiam habento" (in the absence of close kinsmen, the clan is the heir).

614 736 768 [963] 10. The khal' regulates the affairs of the community. We have already seen its role in affairs of clan vengeance. When a Gilyak dies, the khal'-nivukhi decide to which of the deceased man's "ruvn" his widow and children should go. Before the gathering of his clansmen, the dying Gilyak makes known his last wishes.

614 627 [685] In general, no extraordinary event takes place without the participation of the clan. Quarrels between clansmen are settled, not by all the clansmen, but by those who are generally recognized in the clan as respected, eloquent, and wise persons (khlay-nivukh). In the event of a quarrel between individuals of different clans, a mixed gathering of khlay-nivukhi settles the affair. In this way, for instance, cases of theft are settled

614 /360 cont./
622 among the Amur Gilyak, among whom such a mixed assembly
685 imposes a larger or smaller fine. The elder of the clan (*khal'-*
614 *geymar*), even comparatively recently (one, two generations
622 ago), was the social leader, the starosta of the clan. His successor
was the *khal'-geymar* next to him in years. The inter-
[177] vention of the Manchu and the appearance of the Russians on the
island brought about the disappearance of this institution. But
the *khal'-geymary* never played the role of patriarchs with unlimited
and hereditary power. Such power is not exercised among
the Gilyak, even by fathers over their sons. At the present time
the role of the elders of the clan amounts only to leadership in
religious ceremonies, to the deciding voice in questions concerning
seniority in the line of kinship, and similar questions
where years play a special role in the competence of the judgment.

614 11. Clans are often dispersed in places very distant from
621 one another. But after division the clansmen continue /361/ to
[167] remember one another, to visit one another, and to lend one
another assistance and protection. The Gilyak who hides from
the persecution of the avenger will find security and armed protection
in a remote settlement of his clansmen. Let a Gilyak
become poor or an unlucky year befall him, and he will go to
spend some time with clansmen until matters improve. On the
western coast of Sakhalin one rarely finds a settlement in which
the whole population belongs to one clan; there are no more
than five or six such settlements (Pyanovo, Tangi, Tyki, and two
or three more insignificant settlements). In the majority of
614 cases there are two or three clans in a settlement. This partly
167 arises from the fact that the Gilyak is often compelled to abandon
621 his clan and emigrate, seeking a more advantageous site for fishing,
and emigration does not present any difficulties, for the
Gilyak joyfully accept an emigrant from another clan. Moreover,
the custom of many sons-in-law to emigrate to the clan
of their wife has greatly aided the mixing of the clans. This
[591] latter custom, possibly a survival of the archaic clan mode of
life, is based on a female principle, according to which husbands
entered the clan of the wife, and not conversely, as is done at

614 /361 cont./
621 present; frequently, by special agreement with the father-in-
167 law, the son-in-law moves to the clan of the former for joint
591 work with him (more detail about this below).

614 12. The khal' has a common cemetery, closed to those
764 of other clans. It is known to all that the Sakhalin Gilyak have the custom of cremating their dead. Before the day of cremation invitations are sent to all the clansmen of the deceased, and only an extraordinary obstacle will keep a Gilyak from the performance of his last duty to a clansman. When the "living" fire, obtained in this solemn instance by means of friction, has destroyed the remains of the deceased, they construct a low, little shed, closed on all sides, over the place where the ashes and small pieces of bone of the corpse remain, and at its side, a short distance away, they construct a tiny yurt, or rather a wooden box, an arshin square, with a roof. In this box they place the cup and dish of the deceased, his pipe, a wooden doll, ornaments (if it were for a woman), and other trifles. Thus there arises a whole row of yurt-tombs of the clan. When the clan lives in various settlements, they bury the deceased in his village. But wherever the Gilyak may die, his ashes must rest side by side with his clansmen. If a man dies in alien territory, they immediately communicate the fact to his kinsmen, who come and bear away the body for cremation in his homeland. If the affair takes place in the summer, they preserve the corpse in a cold place until wintertime, when they bear it away on sleds to his homeland. But even if /362/ it should prove necessary to cremate a Gilyak in alien territory, nevertheless they carefully pick up one small bone, tie it to a piece of wood, and send it off to his homeland. There they
614 make a shed over it and construct a yurt by its side. The death
765 of a clansman calls for mourning. Men and women undo their braids for a longer or shorter time, depending on the closeness of kinship and love for the deceased. Some wear mourning throughout their lives.

/362 cont./

614 182 Thus it is that kinship and social bonds attach the Gilyak to his clan. Without some particular need the Gilyak will not abandon the settlement of his clansmen, the tombs of his clan. No matter where the Gilyak may grow rich, he finally returns to [179] his homeland. The writer has seen Gilyak who had become completely Russified, who had grown up in service among the Russians, but who, having married, settled down and returned to the settlement of their clan. And this is so easily done. The Gilyak does not find it absolutely necessary to construct a yurt, since in any yurt of his clan there will always be two to three square arshins on the plank bed for the family of a clansman. He does not even need a boat and a net; he will always find owners of these things, with whom he will go fishing on a basis of equal rights. The inevitable affiliation of every Gilyak to the great clan union has placed an indelible stamp on his entire spiritual make-up, on his character, customs, and intellectual [155] development. The custom of judging all jointly, this necessity of entering into the interests of his clansmen, this mutual responsibility in matters of vengeance, these communal festivals and sacrifices, this fraternal bond of numerous fathers, brothers, and children, and finally the necessity and practice of living in large yurts together with dozens of one's fellows -- a necessity that compels the Gilyak to live continually in the eyes of others -- all this must have developed a social, communal, loquacious, serious character, sensitive in matters of honor.

342 354 521 Enter one of the large winter yurts, which are so frequent in the north, enter one of these anthills on a winter's evening, and you will be pleasantly surprised. The huge yurt is lighted up only by the flame of the stoves; in the far corners it is completely dark, but you will hear the sedate conversation of the old men, the loud talk of the middle-aged, merry laughter, the jokes and music of the youth. Here boredom has no place...

/362 cont./

574 [520] Try entering into a conversation with anyone about their life, customs, and so forth -- the whole yurt gathers about you. The adults listen and reply with serious interest. The children will not tear their gaze from /363/ you. Their eyes glow with the fire of intelligence and fascination. They answer you seriously and conscientiously; only inspire trust in them. You will feel yourself drawn toward these barbarians... And never, so to speak, does life stagnate here, because each day brings some large or small occurrence in the life of the settlement, each day brings, finally, new guests with new subjects for conversation. In each yurt you will find many such guests, who often stay for weeks, and during all this time the hosts feed them and their dogs.

The Gilyak are very hospitable and love to pay visits and entertain guests. Not only do the clansmen and kinsmen of the wife pay visits, but also those outsiders who are simply friends. In the yurt there often live together people of different clans, on whom guests and clansmen from all parts of the Gilyak territory [203] call. Imagine how much news each winter day brings. Winter is the preferred season for visiting. This noble custom of hospitality has still another good side. In a bad year, when the Gilyak does not have enough food for either himself or his dogs and nothing to buy it with, he does not have to stretch out his hands to a benefactor; he quietly sets off to pay a visit, knowing full well that in time his host will do the same. One encounters many guests in the summer as well. At this time of year, too, the Gilyak rarely lives alone in his yurt; there are always one or two families 177 of his brothers or other clansmen with him. Despite their long subjection to the Sinicized Manchu, despite the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region, the Gilyak, morally, preserve many of the virtues of primitive tribes. But the fate of their mode of life is irrevocably settled. One or two more generations, and the Gilyak of the mainland will become completely Russified and, together with the fruits of culture, will master all its vices. One must give his due to the Gilyak: he does not lightly abandon his ancestral traditions, but they involuntarily give way. At first they were indignant and perplexed, meeting

/363 cont./
177 deception and exploitation everywhere, but by degrees they will
end up by making use of the same weapon. The Sakhalin Gilyak
have a good chance of maintaining themselves longest of all since
they are farthest from the center of settlement. But Russian influ-
177 ence makes itself felt even on them. From all the settlements
464 they go out to work for wages and go to make their purchases at
[439] Nikolayevsk, and every Gilyak who returns from work to his native
settlement brings back the same atmosphere as the youth who re-
turns to a Russian village from work in the big cities. Moreover,
work in the towns, with its varying fortunes, ever more /364/ and
more destroys that primitive equality which constitutes the domi-
nant feature of the simple economic life of such peoples as the
[454] Gilyak. Together with the wealth that they have amassed in the
new environment, people bring back the economic customs of that
environment. But for the present, let us not look into the new
phenomena in the life of the Gilyak; let us turn now to their still
unshaken foundations.

III.

Religious Views

776 Though the dominant feature of the polytheism of the Gilyak
372 is its anthropomorphism, the worship of the powers of nature lies
[771] at its foundation. Thus, among them, fire is a deity, "a small-
small deity," it is true, but one nevertheless. To the question
"why?" a Gilyak replies: "But without fire how can one live?"
It is considered a sin to put out a fire in the hearth; even damaging
the fence of a hearth is a sin. During the season of seal hunting,
[688] or when a newborn child is in the yurt, and in many other cases,
it is considered a sin to carry the fire out of the yurt. It is to fire,
as to a divine element, that the Gilyak entrusts the bodies of his
dead. In the hierarchy of deities, however, fire is far from
occupying first place. The fact that obtaining fire is within the
power of man greatly diminishes its majesty in the eyes of the

776 /364 cont./

[372] Gilyak. Finally, the hierarchy of the deities is based on the number of benefits received by man from each of them, and the sea and the taiga give the Gilyak more than fire does. [771] Imagining the elements and the powers of nature as divine, even often referring to them as gods, a Gilyak at the same time believes that each element has its own master -- nivukh, who is a god -- "kur." These nivukhi are real Gilyak, not only in their striking similiarity, but even their dress (let us remember that "nivukh" also means "Gilyak"). These are not a product of the imagination; "one can see them." "A certain man," -- a Gilyak acquaintance told me seriously, "once met the master of the sky ("kur"). He was riding on a sled pulled by wolves, but, upon encountering the Gilyak, the wolves turned upward and disappeared into the sky with their rider." One can hear about many "nivukhi," that a Gilyak of such and such a settlement has recently seen "him" in this or that place. Like the Gilyak, the nivukhi have children, perhaps there are whole clans ("khal'") of them, and, like the Gilyak, finally, they are mortal. The god of the taiga and of the mountains, the master and the father of all forest beasts, is called "Pal'-nivukh" (pal' -- mountain, taiga). [782] [796] All the sacrifices /365/ at the bear festival belong to him. It is he who orders the bear to bite "very hard," in case of a violation of the ritual of the festival. The god of the sea, the father and master of all inhabiting it, is called "Tolles," "Toll'-nivukh, and is just about the most powerful deity of the Gilyak; it [821] is he who sends illness and healing. The sun, the moon, and the stars are all deities of the Gilyak, and the first two are spouses: the sun is the wife; the moon, the husband; and, of course, on these heavenly bodies are gods -- masters. "Have you never seen," a Gilyak said to me with assurance, "the nivukh on the moon when it is large? He is fully a Gilyak!"

There is among them an idea of something like devils ("uchkharush"). This is a whole khal', living in the sea and dangerous for the Gilyak when they are hunting seals. They ride about in boats and when they see a boat with Gilyak killing seals, they loudly ask: "What are you doing here?" Woe if the Gilyak reply

/365 cont./

776 that they are killing seals; in such a case the boat is destroyed. But if, in reply, the Gilyak display a hare's tail, the devil goes on his way without further consideration.

776 The relationship between the Gilyak and all his gods --
782 nivukhi -- is quite clear. It is they who provide him with sables,
22 foxes, bears, fish, seals, and so forth. Sables and bears are just
as much the property of Pal'-nivukh as fish and seals are the property of Toll'-nivukh, and as sled dogs are the property of the Gilyak. The gods specifically give a portion of their property to man. It is not an accident that the fish appear with such amazing regularity during the appropriate seasons, it is not an accident that sable is dressed in an expensive fur during the hunting season, it is not an accident that swans, geese, and ducks molt in the summer and become an easy catch for the Gilyak. All this is done by the
776 gods for man; he lives only by these gifts. It is clear that the
782 Gilyak should not remain in debt to their benefactors. And so
they give the gods a portion of everything that they avail themselves of: saranka, roots, tobacco, sugar, and so forth. When I once expressed a desire to take part in the sacrifice to Toll'-nivukh at the beginning of the seal season, they asked me: "But will you give the god bread, potatoes, etc.?" Sacrifices are the exchange of portions with the nivukhi. That is why the sacrifice may never consist of the same objects for which sacrifices are made; for example, among the dishes offered in thanks for the seal, this last does not figure, although it constitutes an indispensable dish of the Gilyak themselves on the evening of the sacrifice. Thus, the bear at the well-known festival is in no way a sacrifice, as some think, /366/ for not a single piece of its meat is apportioned to the god, and the Gilyak does not understand allegory: to sacrifice -- means giving the god something real. And actually, at this festival, the master of the bear, Pal'-nivukh, is given a sacrifice of saranka, "moss," yukola, and other viands. The principle of exchange in sacrifices is not contradicted by the fact
[225] that the Gilyak offer to the "master of the sea" fish bones and the
[226] head and eyes of seals. The explanation for this is very simple:

/366 cont./
776 the god gives meat to man, and the bones are returned as the
782 creative element for future fish and seals. For the same reason
[226] the Gilyak carefully buries the eyes in the sand of the shore, and
[225] any undeveloped fetus found in the uterus of a seal. To the Gilyak
a sacrifice is not a ritual or a routine matter, but serious business
on which his welfare depends. In addition to the solemn sacrifices
offered at the opening of the seal season, the Gilyak with special
solemnity gives presents to his god at the beginning of the sable
[342] season. He offers this sacrifice all by himself in the taiga, at the
side of the same small balagan which serves as a night shelter the
whole time he watches over his snares and traps. Besides his usual
gifts, he sometimes sacrifices a dog for this occasion. After
striking the sacrificial animal in the heart, he gives its blood to
the god, but eats the meat at a solemn feast with his kinsmen.
He usually gives frequent gifts to his gods, although just a little
at a time, believing that a hundred fish mean as little to a god
as a handful of rice or saranka means to a Gilyak. Offerings made
during a journey can be touching. I remember that once during a
journey to northern Sakhalin we came to the crest of a mountain ridge
unexpectedly, and suddenly there unfolded the magical panorama
of the mountains. The "Head of the earth" towered majestically
before us. My Gilyak companions were deeply moved. One of
them took from his sled his cherished little sack with saranka,
tobacco, sweet roots, and so forth, and, moving off about 30 steps
to the right, he squatted down, buried a handful of each in the
snow, and repeated his prayer for a long time. When he got up,
he moved the same number of steps to the left and did the same.
Then, his face suffused with emotion, he returned to us and dis-
tributed the remains of his sacrifice. He had prayed that we be granted
a happy journey. Later, he was able to boast that his prayers had
771 been heard... There is a tremendous difference between the re-
ligious feeling of a Gilyak and the religious feeling of not only a
Christian, Jew, or Moslem, but even of a Buddhist. "Contrition,"
the striving of the soul toward the deity, in our meaning, all seem
to be incomprehensible things to a Gilyak. For him, in religion
[781] everything is simple /367/ and clear; there are no doubts and no
suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy.

/367 cont./

000 756 suffering. He does not understand religious ecstasy. Shamanism,
771 with its ecstasy, seems to me to be a borrowed phenomenon. It
does not fit in with the religious beliefs of the Gilyak. It is true
[754] that he believes the shaman, trusts him to cure the sick, superstitiously
fears him, believes in his predictions and in the power
of his magic, believes, for instance, that the shaman can kill any
man no matter how far away from him this last may be (thus they
say that the Rykovo shaman killed the Nikolayevsk one by shooting
a bird that was flying past); shamanism, however, is not typical
756 of Gilyak religious views. It is perhaps appropriate to mention at
this point that shamans do a great deal of harm to their worshipers.
[754] In the case of the unsuccessful outcome of their treatments, they
often pass the blame onto quite innocent people, whom they subject
to physical violence and to cruel persecutions if the patient
[158] dies. Also, by suggesting to their patients that their illness is the
result of possession by devils, they cause serious psychic disturbances
[782] in people whose nervous state is healthy. The prayers of the
Gilyak are quite characteristic, simple and clear like their beliefs.
"Kur, piongukhia!" (Oh, God, please!) -- the Gilyak limits himself
to this when he asks for something from his god.

776 The Gilyak have a hazy conception, or better a feeling, about
577 a supreme deity, the father of all men and of all that exists, but
for him it is just a vague feeling for which he does not have a clear
formulation. The gods have a relation, not only to the material
577 life of man, but also to his moral life. Moral principles of com-
573 munal living, helping one's neighbors, and respect for the life
[776] and property of another enjoy divine sanction. Violating them
leads to punishment in this life (sickness, premature death) and in
the future life. I happened to hear such a statement from a Gilyak:
"If a rich man abuses a poor man, it is a great sin, but if a poor
man abuses a rich one (in the material sense, if he borrows and does
not repay, deceives him, etc.), that is not a sin!" This statement
sounded all the stranger to me, because the Gilyak who made it
was a very rich man himself, a big kulak, who did not hesitate to
oppress the poor in any way. I do not venture to judge how much
this extremely altruistic belief is really the belief of the Gilyak,
or whether it is the result of Russian influence, or mere hypocrisy.

/367 cont./
577 In any case, it is characteristic. The Gilyak therefore have a
783 clear conception of sin ("umgysh"). It goes without saying /368/
673 that such things as stealing and murder are a sin but, to be sure,
688 there are a great number of acts, indifferent from our point of
view, that are considered sins by the Gilyak, for instance: to
heat seal fat on a fire and not in the sun is a sin, and, in general,
to deviate from the old ways is a sin. It is curious that in many
cases a sin, even when it consists in insulting a deity, is atoned
for by a fine paid to one or another person; for example, for the
slightest harm to the fence of the hearth, the one who caused it
must pay a dog, a cup and saucer, and a few other small things
to the master of the yurt; otherwise, one of the two will become
ill. Even this small episode illustrates the idea of the necessity to
[682] atone for a sin. The damages paid for a murder are provided by
the clan of the murderer not by necessity (such necessity does not
always exist), but as an atonement for the sin before an angered
deity. On the other hand, the gods do not allow an evil deed
(sin) of people to go unpunished. They send storms and rains, a
scarcity of fish and fowl, send down diseases and various other
[821] misfortunes. The Gilyak think that thunderstorms and lightning
[829] have become more frequent since the arrival of the Russians; this
is because the god has been angered by the sins of the Russians.

771 Imagining his gods as mortal, the Gilyak merely expresses
775 his extremely anthropomorphic view of them. In fact, human
existence, according to his belief, does not end with this life.
There, beyond the flame of the fire, is another world, another land
where a Gilyak lives again, with the same needs and the same
ideas; only there the poor man will be rich and the rich man poor.
After death a Gilyak receives a different name, and it is a sin to
call a deceased person by his old name. They also believe in the
transmigration of souls, or, more exactly, in many rebirths. Thus,
there is a legend which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who
had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight
766 with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars
[764] on his face as the deceased had. It is well-known that the Sakhalin
Gilyak burn their dead. There is, however, one case when this

/368 cont./
766 ceremony is not observed, namely, when a person falls victim
to a bear. There is a whole ritual for such cases. I shall be brief.
Immediately after receiving news of the Gilyak's misfortune, they
set out in search of the bear, following its fresh tracks. After they
find and kill the bear, they place the slain person astride it and
solemnly carry the bear and its ill-starred rider to the settlement.
They immediately begin to /369/ build a large balagan in which
they place the bear and its rider. The balagan is enclosed on all
[782] sides; they leave only small openings in which are placed small
[769] troughs with sacrifices, which are at first renewed very often and
then less and less frequently (in a year). This epopee is fully
completed only in the third generation, in the presence of the clansmen
of the slain man, with the final sacrifice of several dogs at
182 the source of the local stream. The meaning of this whole procedure
766 is, I think, the following. The bear is killed in conformity with
the principle of revenge (the kindred bones must be raised). The
posture of the slain man (astride the bear) is the symbol of the
triumph of revenge. Leaving the slain man in the pose of a rider
and honoring his memory for generations stem from a desire to
crown the brave members of one's clan with a halo of fame. It
may be that all this is done for the edification of the youth. Sacrifices
[782] are made to Pal'-nivukh, in this case to propitiate him
so that such misfortunes will not be repeated in the future. This
example shows, incidentally, that the Gilyak are very far from
regarding the bear as a god. The last respects paid a person who
has drowned are also accompanied by a special ritual. He is
burned, it is true, but without fail on the seashore. The boat in
[614] which he drowned is no longer used. In the presence of the entire
[782] clan a rich sacrifice is made to Toll'-nivukh on the shore. A new
yurt is built, in which the parents of the deceased or one of his
brothers settle. Again in this case, the procedure is to foster contempt
for danger, and, on the other hand -- to propitiate the
capricious god of the sea.

797 In conclusion I must say a few words about the spread of
Christianity among the Gilyak. On the entire western shore I
have met only two baptized Gilyak, who took the "sacred"

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797 baptism exclusively for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of legal marriage to such and such a Gilyak woman, certificates which give the right and opportunity to secure governmental assistance for the return of the wife in case of her abduction. I have, moreover, met a great number of baptized Gilyak from the mainland, and from my conversations with them I have been convinced that they do not have the slightest idea of even the ritual side of Christianity, let alone its substance. Nevertheless, the Gilyak is capable of grasping the idea of the one God with His attributes as taught by the Christian religion. I could say a great many things about the methods used on the Amur to convert the natives to Christianity, but this /370/ is not the appropriate place for it. As for the Sakhalin Gilyak, an especially talented missionary could perhaps make some progress; many generations will have to pass, however, before the Gilyak breaks his ties with the gods which provide him with fish, seals, and sable. The baptized
[171] Goldi and the Amur Gilyak are now pronounced skeptics in their
[771] attitude toward religion in general, but they continue to make
[778] sacrificial offerings as before. It must further be added that the
Sakhalin Gilyak have no idols.

IV.

Juridical Life

581 Marriage. Despite all the remains and remnants of the old order of life of which I have spoken, the modern marriage of the Gilyak, from a juridical point of view, has a completely individualistic form. One cannot call it, in the strict sense of the word, either monogamy or polygamy, but one cannot call it communal, either.

581 In the eyes of the world every married woman is the wife of
684 a given individual, and her children are the children of that
individual. Violations of fidelity on the part of the wife bring
684 bloody retribution from the husband. The Gilyak who catches his
wife *in flagrante delicto* with a stranger kills the seducer and beats

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684 his wife half to death. Even his ruvn, in such cases, does not
[184] escape without a severe lecture, while among the Amur Gilyak
[614] even the ruvn finds no mercy. But such bloody vengeance is
absolutely required only when the seducer is caught in flagrante
[177] delicto. Fear of Russian justice has weakened the force of this
bloody custom, and frequently in such cases the matter ends with
178 a sound thrashing. The modern method of securing a wife grad-
583 ually worked itself out from the old clan arrangements, from the
collective and individual abduction of women from another clan
and the subsequent reconciliation by means of a ransom, transformed in the course of time into the modern bride price. But even today the custom of the abduction of women exists among the Gilyak of both Sakhalin and the mainland. In part it is a corrective against the coercion of womanly sensibilities in the contemporary form of marriage, in part a reaction against the purchase of wives, not possible for every Gilyak. When a Gilyak comes to like a woman, either a maiden or a married woman, and for one reason or another it appears impossible to obtain her in a peaceful manner, /371/ he arranges things with a group of his clansmen, and one fine day (usually in the summer) when the men are out of the yurt, the boat of the abductor draws near the settlement, and, profiting by the absence of the men, they bear away the desired woman. Abductions sometimes take place by preliminary agreement with the woman, or sometimes without her assent and even against her will. Abductions, of course, produce counter-abductions, even with an armed hand (I know of one instance where a group of 14 men armed with spears and guns broke into the yurt of the elder of a settlement at night and bore away a woman), but in the event of failure the matter ends with reconciliation and the payment of bride price. Not infrequently the abduction is performed by the father of the woman himself, or at his instigation, in those instances where the son-in-law does not fulfill all the conditions of the bride price and at the same time does not voluntarily return the woman he has purchased. To this day the Gilyak regard the custom of abduction as a normal phenomenon; it astonishes no one and is censured by

583 /371 cont./
[178] [721] no one, and this demonstrates how widespread, even universal, it was in quite recent times. The wars of which Gilyak tradition tells were fought principally on account of the abduction of women, and they developed the practice of reconciliation by 177 583 way of payment of a ransom. The entrance of the Russians into the Amur region has led to a considerable diminution in the number of abductions. No matter what efforts accompany the abduction of a woman, the display of a paper from a Russian office will incontrovertibly result in the return of the abducted woman. Thus, the prevailing mode of obtaining wives has become that of purchase. The price paid for a woman is known to the Russians under the term kalym. The bride price is ordinarily paid in articles, money, and labor. As bride price they give boats, kettles, guns, spears, fur coats, pieces of silk material, dogs, and, finally, money. The size of the bride price is in proportion to the wealth of both sides, the age of the bride, and her domestic talents. A woman who is an "accomplished woman" in the full sense of the phrase among the Gilyak is one who understands the culinary arts well, sews garments and footwear well, is industrious and meek. In general the purchase of a wife is a rather expensive affair. Here is an example of a not very considerable bride price. One Gilyak from Kitnidvo paid for his wife with two Japanese kettles (one large one, costing 60 rubles), one spear with silver fretwork, a fox-fur coat, ten dogs, and, in addition, took down his father-in-law's summer yurt, after 583 which the wife was irretrievably abducted. An extremely characteristic method of acquiring a wife, one which recalls /372/ the Biblical story of the service of Jacob for Laban, is that of labor. Some clanless Gilyak will work in a family for several years, and as his reward he will receive the sister or daughter of the master. When the head of a family is a middle-aged man and has no sons, he takes to himself a son-in-law who agrees, instead of a bride price, to share with him all the economic labor for a certain period or for the entire life of the father-in-law. The son-in-law, customarily a complete pauper, fishes and kills seals, and all this constitutes the common

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583 property of the whole family, but the personal money earnings
of the son-in-law, as well as the sables and foxes that he obtains
through his efforts and skill, remain at his disposal, which
makes it possible for the son-in-law to attain an independent
standing in time. But in general the payment of the bride price
by labor is not frequently encountered, for the sale of the woman
is too enticing a prospect for her kinsmen, and moreover the
Gilyak have not yet grown accustomed to asking for the labor
583 of others. The bride price is paid to the father of the bride, or,
614 in his absence -- to her brothers, if they are adults, otherwise --
to their guardian, i.e., to that clansman-ruvn to whom they,
along with their mother, have passed; in the absence of any
brothers of the bride -- to that same ruvn of whom we just spoke,
that is, the one to whom the mother of the bride has passed;
in the absence of such -- to the brothers of the father, then to
the distant clansmen-ruvn, but in general to clansmen of the
male sex. Originally the bride price was always given, not to a
separate individual, but to the khal' (clan). And even nowadays
among the Tungus, fellow tribesmen of the Gilyak, the bride
price is paid to the "nasleg," i.e., the clan. And this is perfectly
natural, since originally the bride price was a ransom
paid to a whole clan, which was avenging the abduction of the
587 women. This primitive significance of the bride price is reflected
614 in the custom whereby the wife of a deceased Gilyak always
583 remains in the clan of her husband and passes, according
to the decision of the clan, to one of the brothers (ruvn) of the
deceased (only to a younger brother, however, and only in the
event of the unwillingness of the ruvn to marry the widow does
she return to the clan of her father, while the children remain
in the clan of the husband. The obligation of the clansmen-ruvn
with regard to the widows of their deceased ruvn reminds one of
biblical story of Boaz and Ruth. The bride price is either paid
all at once or in part in advance and in part some time after the
bride moves to the home of the groom.

583 There are instances of the sale of children of the female
584 sex. A Gilyak purchases for himself or for his young son a young

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583 girl, who, until the proper age, remains in the home of her
584 parents for instruction in all the women's sciences and crafts; in /373/ this case, part of the bride price is paid at the conclusion of the agreement. Every year after that the groom makes presents to his future father-in-law, and the remaining part of the bride price is paid when the bride moves to the home of her future husband. If the "bartered bride" should die in the interval between the conclusion of the agreement and moving to the home of the husband, the bride price is returned. Young girls customarily move without delay to the home of the groom, who is often several times older than the bride and who purchases her, even though he already has one or two wives, with the sole aim of having a young worker when the other wives grow old. If the groom is also underage, the future spouses are raised together, become friends from childhood, and become attached to each other for life, but this good feature of the purchase of small children does not at all atone for the other features of the custom, which is based solely on the calculation of buying a wife cheaply. The custom of purchasing wives for underaged sons was perhaps one of the reasons for the above-mentioned prohibition against the enjoyment of conjugal rights by an elder brother with regard to the wives of his younger brothers, and from this arose the custom of forbidding the older brother to marry even the widow of a deceased younger brother. The Gilyak pursues bargains to such a degree in purchasing a wife that not infrequently he obtains for his underaged son a bride who may be two or three times older than he, if only he gets her at a bargain. The payment of a large bride price gives the husband the right to get a part of it back in the event the wife dies soon after the marriage, and sometimes
583 also a part of the heritage of the father-in-law. But side by side with the payment for the bride there exists among the Gilyak another institution -- the dowry. Before setting off for the bridegroom's home the wife is attired in festive dress and is provided, according to the condition of her parents, with valuable fur coats, garments, and ornaments. This dowry belongs to the bride, who,

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583 in the event of the dissolution of the marriage, takes it back. It
is inalienable during the life of the wife and is customarily burned
with her on her funeral pyre. This form of the dowry confirms
Ziber's /Sieber?/ view of the dowry in primitive societies as a
present to the bride.

585 Marriage is effected among the Gilyak without any ceremonies.
A feast is held, of course, upon the departure of the
bride and upon her arrival at the home of the bridegroom, but
586 nothing more. The marriage is as easily dissolved as it is concluded.
583 The husband, disappointed in his wife, takes her back
to her father and gets his bride price back. Similarly, the father,
dissatisfied with the position of his daughter in the new family or
/374/ the incomplete fulfillment of the conditions of payment by
the son-in-law, takes his daughter back, returning the bride price.
583 In general, the method for peacefully acquiring a wife among the
584 Gilyak falls entirely under the "purchase-sale" agreement, with
its accompanying "rectification," etc. I have seen how one
middle-aged Gilyak, not having the wherewithal to feed his wife,
sold her (with her consent, however) to another Gilyak for a small
compensation.

462 But in spite of the character of this acquisition of a wife,
562 and despite the fact that the assent of the woman is not only not
584 required, but is not even asked, nevertheless the position of women
is in general not as bad as it may appear. It is required of her that
she be industrious and thrifty. Much, in fact, is required of her.
She cleans and dries an incredible quantity of fish, which is used
for the year-round sustenance of the family and dogs. It is she
who scutches wild hemp, spinning it into triple thread, and for
months thereafter she ties enormous nets, utilizing for this purpose
every free minute. She sews clothes for the entire family, and
on her lies the entire burden of the Gilyak kitchen and the feeding
of the dogs. It is she who, for whole days on end, gathers sarana,
berries and roots which constitute the daily diet of the Gilyak during
the winter. Finally, she bears the whole burden and care of
feeding the numerous guests who arrive and stay for weeks, while
000 her husband leaves to pay visits and enjoys his winter rest. Yet,

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562 loaded down with work as she is, sometimes profoundly unfortunate, with an aged and blind husband, purchased and sold, she is
[264] [593] nevertheless not a slave. She is not shut up, as in the East; she eats at the same table with her husband and children, she participates in the conversation, and she is treated with respect as a wife and mother. The children treat her with respect. They are ready
[765] to exact vengeance for her. When she dies, they will cremate her with the same solemnity as her husband; as a sign of mourning they will undo their braids, not infrequently for life, and an occasional inconsolable husband will lay violent hands on himself out of grief for his wife. Although married, she does not sever her
[594] bonds with her former family and clan. She, along with her husband and children, visits them frequently, and in a year of misfortune she and her husband and children will find assistance and a hearty welcome there. If her husband should offend her without cause, she will find protection in the family of her father, and true protection: they will return the bride price and take her back.

595 Polygamy is found to a limited extent. The causes of polygamy lie in part in the above-mentioned conjugal rights of
[589] brothers. It is not by chance that there are so many bachelors among the Gilyak, /375/ frequently without special reasons, such as poverty, etc. Then, again, barren wives, as well as the desire to have a young healthy worker in his old age, impel the Gilyak to provide himself with two or three wives, whom he gradually acquires. It is noteworthy that in the settlements closest to the Aleksandrovsk post, even in such a large settlement as Arkyyvo, I did not encounter a single case of polygamy.

595 177 This is explained, of course, by the influence of the Russians. Polygamy often produces quarrels between wives, and the husband, of course, most frequently takes the side of the favorite wife, yet that division into lawful wives and concubines, as in the Eastern harems, does not exist among the Gilyak.

831 Two words concerning sexual morality. In their talk the Gilyak are not very irreproachable. Young maidens allow themselves to use words and expressions that are not tolerated by the

/375 cont./

831 code of civilization. In their actions the Gilyak are no less frivolous, from our point of view. Despite the vengeful jealousy of husbands, the sins of love do not evoke any censure or scorn on the part of public opinion, and still less is it considered abnormal to cohabit (true, not openly) with individuals of those categories of which I spoke above. But within the clan, as I have already stated, adultery is not to be met with, even as an exception. I shall add that the Gilyak youth has certain chivalrous-romantic propensities which not only impel young people to make long journeys for a rendezvous with their beloved, but frequently drive them into unreasonable enterprises, such as the abduction of a woman by force of arms.

596 The structure of the Gilyak family. One often encounters large complex families in which the aged father lives in a common household with all his children and their children. The master's brothers who are either incapacitated for work or do not possess equipment of their own frequently enter into the composition of the family. Not infrequently the family accepts the orphans of their clansmen, especially orphans left without a mother at an early age. It sometimes happens that the mother-in-law lives with her son-in-law and sons-in-law with their mothers-in-law, espe-
594 cially when the latter have no sons. We shall note other peculiarities in the make-up of the family farther on; for the present we shall say that the normal composition of the family, its framework, is the parents, the sons and the unmarried daughters (married
593 ones pass into the clan of the husband). In the relations of the
594 members of the family among themselves there is nothing resembling the patriarchal relations of, for example, the old Roman family; /376/ the sons show respect for the father, but the latter does not wield over them that power which is known under the appellation of patria potestas. Adult sons can freely depart from the family of the father and live in separate households. Living with the father, the son can acquire for himself his own property.
[428] The elder son does not enjoy any advantages over his brothers, and, on the contrary, the youngest sons, as those who live with the father until his death, enjoy special advantages in the matter of inheritance.

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593 inheritance. Only with relation to the daughters does the father
594 enjoy a despotic authority, regarding them as commodities to be
disposed of as dearly as possible, although in practice this authority
is considerably relaxed by the natural attachment of the father
593 to his children. The considerable independence of the sons is
594 determined by the forms of acquiring the means of existence.
476 For fishing with the small nets used by the Gilyak, the co-operation
[226] of only two men is required; consequently, in this respect the
[866] existence of large family households is not caused by necessity.
[224] Likewise, the hunting of the Gilyak at the present time does not
[225] require collectivism, while for the spring and fall seasons of seal
hunting the Gilyak join in temporary artels, whose composition is
594 completely accidental. The practice of going to Nikolayevsk for
593 work undoubtedly has assisted in the dissolution of the large
178 family, although among the Gilyak, as among our own peasantry,
464 such employment for one of them is frequently one of the kinds of
division of labor within the family. Those who go away for such
work are either bachelors or members of a large family, leaving
their father and brothers at home to prepare fish for the winter. In
594 any case, the separation of adult, married sons from the family
591 of the father is far from being a predominant phenomenon, espe-
178 cially in northern Sakhalin. Evidently it is of very recent origin.
[768] But at the same time the separation of the adult brothers after the
death of the father is a customary phenomenon, although we
should not think of this phenomenon in our sense. The brothers
continue to live in one yurt, they frequently use the same equipment, but they eat apart; frequently this is the only sign of the
division of the household.

593 We shall say more later concerning the economic relations of the members of a family.

It is pertinent to point out that in many respects mutual aid, as well as the feeling of kinship and attachment between members of a family in general, is more extensive and constant among these barbarians than in a civilized family.

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423 Property. Among the Gilyak the notion of real property exists,
although not in such a strictly individualistic sense as among
civilized peoples. The territory of a settlement consists of the
customary fishing sites, as well as the streams, and their banks,
along which they hunt sables. But the Gilyak never make any
claims to nearby territory which they themselves do not use.
Use is the absolute element of property. While they recognize
[185] their rights to the streams and the nearby taiga where they set
[648] their traps, the Gilyak have freely permitted Tungus from the
mainland to hunt the sable and reindeer some tens of versts from
their settlements, although it could be easily foreseen that this
would lead to the complete disappearance of the sable from those
Gilyak territories. But on the other hand they are extremely
strict in their rights to those streams along which they set snares
423 and traps. All the streams of the territory of the settlement are
428 divided in perpetuity among the families of that clan which first
settled near these streams and used them, and these streams, their
tributaries, and separate extensions pass by inheritance and are
divided among the sons on the same strict principles as any real
property among us. Moreover, if a stream is bequeathed to be
shared among several brothers, the co-inheritors take turns using
it through the year. It is worthy of note that although the streams
thus divided among the brothers and clansmen greatly vary in
value with relation to the advantages of hunting, they are never
re-alloted, but remain at the continual disposal of the same
people. It is possible that the reason for this phenomenon is the
fact that younger brothers in certain cases enjoy advantages in
423 the matter of inheritance. On the other hand, fishing sites are
not held in such absolute possession. Where the god has been
lavish, the Gilyak does not consider himself justified in fencing
off this bounty exclusively for himself. The Gilyak is not in the
habit of lying in the hay or of eating and not giving to others.
166 Very often the Gilyak move from one settlement to another or
423 journey at given seasons for fishing or sealing, and the indigenous
inhabitants of the settlements do not even dream of considering
this a violation of any of their rights. Without asking anyone's

/377 cont./
166 permission, the emigrant builds a yurt, fishes, kills seals, hunts
423 fowl, etc.; only the streams are prohibited to him for the setting
of snares for sable.

342 /378/ Only in exceptional cases does the Gilyak live
592 alone with his family in the yurt. Customarily he lives with his
423 brothers and clansmen, sometimes with his father-in-law, more
rarely with members of other clans. The winter yurts of northern
Sakhalin are frequently enormous, holding as many as 50 people,
frequently all clansmen. The economic advantage of such communal
dwellings consists in the fact that heating, which consumes
a great deal of wood among the Gilyak by reason of the unsatisfactory
construction of the stoves, is not so costly for each individual
taken separately. Moreover, these dwellings guarantee security
from abduction for the women. The summer yurts are built
smaller and ordinarily house from one to three families. The winter
yurts are built through the joint efforts of several brothers or
clansmen, the summer ones -- frequently by one person. But all
those who live in the yurt, temporary or permanent inhabitants,
clansmen or members of other clans who had no part in building
it, all live in the yurt without any compensation to the builders,
and it is doubtful whether the latter enjoy any special privileges
in obtaining firewood. If the yurt becomes congested, there
will always be found a pair of persons who on their own initiative
will undertake the construction of a new yurt, into which the
builders themselves move and gladly welcome co-dwellers. Thus,
the dwelling of the Gilyak is, it is true, the common property of
several families who participated in its construction, but at the
same time it is an object of gratuitous utilization by clansmen
[174] and, in general, by anyone who desires it. This is a vestige of
the time when the dwelling was built by the joint efforts of the
clan and was an object of collective property.

422 The views of the Gilyak concerning movable property
are perfectly clear and strictly defined. The ordinary articles of
movable property among them are boats, nets, kettles, arms,
dogs, sleds, supplies of dried fish, etc. It often happens that a
boat, a net, or dogs are the common property of two or three

/378 cont./

422 clansmen, even in those cases where the families eat separately.
422 And, conversely, it happens that in large families, keeping house
594 together and eating together, individual members, such as, for
example, the unseparated sons, are independent owners of dogs,
boats, and other movable property. Thus, the sons who live with
their father obtain in good time property for their future inde-
pendence or for the purchase of a wife with their own means.
[431] Such independent property of unseparated sons is either obtained
[224] as a present /379/ from the father, augmented by the fruits of
[465] success in hunting through the efforts of the children or as the re-
sult of employment in towns. If an unseparated son kills a bear,
[224] the meat goes for general use, but he gets the skin. If he sells his
fox and sable, he will purchase various articles for the family, but
[465] he will certainly obtain something especially for himself. The
same is true of his wages. But never will the son reserve for him-
[226] self a special share of his catch of fish, where ordinarily the skill
422 of one individual plays no role. These same economic relations
606 prevail between the father-in-law and son-in-law who maintain
a joint household (furs and wages constitute individual acquisi-
422 tions). There is a category of articles sui generis which constitute
556 the exclusive individual property of the Gilyak. This is his
[454] "wealth." The Sakhalin Gilyak, at least, does not treasure and
does not store up money. On the other hand, he stores up valuable
fur coats, fox and sable, pieces of costly Chinese silk, spears with
silver fretwork, silk gowns, Japanese sabers, etc. These riches
pass from generation to generation, from father to son, and only
at extremely important moments of life are they taken out of the
storehouse. When it is necessary to purchase a wife for his son,
when the need arises to provide presents for his daughter, depart-
ing for the clan of her husband, when the clan through its com-
mon efforts concludes a peace with the clan of the avenger, when
he himself dies, or some other person who is dear to him and
whom he wishes to see upon the funeral pyre in all the splendor of
sable fur coats and Chinese silks -- then the treasured objects are
556 brought out of the storehouse. The attitude of the Gilyak toward
rich men is interesting. The Gilyak regards his wealthy brother

/379 cont./

556 with a feeling that is strange for people with a primitive mode of
life. There is fear and respect and even reverence in this feeling.
That a rich man should inspire fear and respect is a thing easy to
understand, but the feeling of some sort of reverence has its own
peculiar source, not completely alien, however, to our
understanding. In primitive society the rich man ordinarily had his
personal talents to thank for his material success -- hence the
respect for him. But since all human success is at the same time
a gift from the gods, the rich man also stands out as their favorite,
556 their chosen one. The degree to which the Gilyak are inclined
538 to attribute supernatural origin to wealth can be seen from a widely
171 diffused legend among them concerning a certain Tungus, still
living today, who amassed his wealth by unscrupulous exploitation
and robbery, a legend which affirmed that this virtuous man /380/
had secured his wealth thanks to a golden rain which showered
down upon him when he was hunting in the taiga. And this golden
rain was, of course, a favor from the god to his favorite.

675 Since the Gilyak have notions of property, there naturally
432 exist among them contracts of purchase and sale, barter, loans,
437 etc., but most frequently of all, of course, these contracts have
427 the character of barter.
426

Two words about debt obligations. The Sakhalin Gilyak
426 does not borrow money; his debts arise principally from the
nonfulfillment of one side of the property obligations of a contract.
No interest is charged for waiting for repayment. Interest is known
[184] only to the Amur Gilyak, who borrowed it from the Manchu, but
[177] even among the Amur Gilyak interest is extorted only for the loan
of money or sable skins, but never for loans of any other nature. The
[614] popularity of debt obligations among the Sakhalin Gilyak
[672] consists, first, in the fact that there is no period of expiration with
regard to debts (complaints about the payment of debts incurred
30-40 years before arose not infrequently), and secondly that in
the event of the insolvency of a debtor and his closest relatives or
after the death of these persons, the clan, in the person of the
clansmen, answers for the debts. The fund from which debts are
made good, in the event of nonfulfillment of the conditions of a

/380 cont./

426 contract, are those sacred treasures which customarily lie untouched in the storehouse of their possessor. The creditor lays hands on these objects in those rare cases when he is compelled to recover his debt by force. The public or secret unharnessing of the dogs from the sled of the debtor is also one of the methods of collecting a debt. But what is most curious, what speaks in favor of the uprightness of the Gilyak and is most important at the trials of their lawsuits, is the fact that not a single debtor will ever repudiate his debt, no matter how ancient and unpleasant it may be to him. The Gilyak is greatly astonished when you ask him whether he has any evidence for the debt. "Ask him (the debtor)!" replies the puzzled creditor.

433 Speaking of their economic and juridical relations, one
46 cannot fail to mention the role of labor in these relations. Capital,
as the basis for reward, hardly plays any role among them as yet.
[225] In their communal hunting, for example, in the hunting of seals
and dolphins, when the Gilyak gather for this purpose, several men to a boat, the catch is divided equally among the participants. The master of the boat gets the same share as the youth who sits /381/ at the oars. Even the craft of the metalworker who makes the spear or the arrow does not constitute a basis for special reward. Moreover, on distant expeditions, for example, from the Amur to south Sakhalin, the one who obtains more than an equal share of the catch is not the master of the boat, but the one who performed the troublesome chores on the way, such as
226 the preparation of the food and the collection of firewood. In
465 joint fishing the master of the boat and the net obtains the same
433 share as his have-not companion ("navkh"). True, I have seen an instance where the master of the boat and net obtained 2/3 of the catch, while his have-not comrade -- only 1/3, but to my question as to the reason for this inequality I received the reply: "And why should he have more? He is a bachelor, alone;
554 he does not need any more." I encountered a status resembling
476 to any degree that of a workman only two or three times, but
466 even in these rare cases the status of the worker does not remind one of our practices. The master will help his worker purchase a wife and will make him a sharer in the inheritance after his death.

/381 cont./

428 Inheritance. The structure of the contemporary family of the Gilyak naturally arouses in the father a desire to hand down his property to his children. On the other hand, the clan organization requires that in any case the property should not leave the confines of the clan. Out of the reciprocal action of these principles it develops that the children inherit from the father, and only in their absence -- the brothers of the deceased and his more distant clansmen, but at the same time, women, not only in the customary and ascending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines of kinship, but in the descending lines as well, are excluded from the rights of inheritance, as persons who are destined to leave the clan of their father and pass into the clan of their husbands. Such is the principle. In practice, it is true, it is relaxed; thus, for example, daughters obtain their dowry out of the hereditary property, and sometimes married daughters, especially when there are no heirs of the male sex or when the husbands purchased them for a big price, also share in the inheritance; but such instances are relaxations of the principle which are not generally accepted, and customarily they are effected by way of a will. Before his death the Gilyak summons his clansmen and makes known his wishes. These deathbed dispositions make it possible for the Gilyak to make not only daughters his heirs, but even persons of another clan, for example, his sons-in-law or workmen. If he should die without such a deathbed bequest, then, of course, the above-mentioned principle of inheritance goes into effect. But the details best serve to explain the essence of this principle.

If a Gilyak dies leaving neither wife nor children, /382/ his brothers are his heirs; in their absence -- his clansmen-ruvn in the order of their closeness of kinship. If he leaves a young widow and children, the widow, according to the decision of the clan, goes to one of the brothers or ruvn of the deceased, who has the rights and obligations of a father with regard to the children and is the guardian of their inherited property until they reach their majority. The young girls obtain a dowry, while the adult sons who have separated or wish to separate obtain their share of the

[768]
[429]
[587]

/382 cont./

428 inheritance immediately. If the widow is old and there is even
[968] one young or grown-up son among her children, the family continues
to live as it did during the father's lifetime. The grown-up
son will be the sustainer and worker of the family. A question
of the division of the inheritance only arises when the children,
coming of age, subsequently desire to separate. If a
Gilyak dies without leaving children, or only leaving children
of the female sex, the property passes to that brother of the deceased
who marries the widow; if the inheritance is a large one,
the other brothers and daughters of the deceased, even the
married ones, share in the inheritance. A childless and aged
[968] widow passes into the care of the brothers of the deceased, who
divide the inheritance among themselves. It is necessary to note
428 that a Gilyak without children or sons takes measures in good
597 time to make sure that he will have an heir of the male sex, which
always coincides with the necessity of having an assistant-worker
in the maintenance of the household and a sustainer in his old age.
With this aim the Gilyak adopts the son of one of his ruvn or a poor
clansman-ruvn, who works together with him and is his heir. It
428 is noteworthy that even when there are children, a person who
has worked in the family for a long time receives a share of the
[606] inheritance. Sons-in-law who work with their father-in-law until
his death are without a question his heirs, according to the wish
of the testator. Heirs of the male sex receive equal shares of the
inheritance. Only in a case where a younger son has lived with
his father up to the very time of his death, while the other
brothers have separated, does he obtain a little more than the
other brothers.

673 Juridical Morals. Among the Sakhalin Gilyak one hardly ever
[674] encounters crimes of a mercenary character. The Gilyak keeps
his treasures in the storehouse, which is never shut. The Gilyak
calmly leaves valuable objects in the taiga, on the road, in an
uninhabited summer dwelling, without fearing for their safety.
In my presence a Gilyak left in the taiga, two steps from the
road, a piece of silk material and a valuable spear. "No one
[422] will take it" he said calmly. /383/ If a Gilyak is sometimes
tempted by the possessions of another, it is always in the field of

/383 cont./

422 delicacies and edibles, and the Gilyak, like almost all barbarians,
673 regard such transgressions indulgently. During my journeying to
the north of Sakhalin, I had the opportunity to observe this characteristic
of the Gilyak. They took without permission, or asked
me for, dried crusts, sugar, or tobacco, but never once did they
673 try to take objects of much greater value. Theft is a sin among
762 the Gilyak, and he who commits it covers himself with disgrace.
And disgrace and shame are a great punishment to the Gilyak.
The Gilyak who is convicted of doing something shameful goes
out into the taiga and lays hands on himself (hangs himself).
Never does a Gilyak commit suicide out of fear of poverty, which,
in view of the custom of mutual assistance, is a cause of fear to
no one. Nor will any physical sufferings impel him to such an
act, but he will yield to the feeling of shame or strong personal
grief and take his life.

674 Murders among the Gilyak are very rare and never have
177 a mercenary motivation. Murders are committed principally in
526 the heat of passion and frequently under the most inconsequential
152 circumstances. For example, the Gilyak have a habit of wrestling,
273 and sometimes during the fighting the opponents grow so heated
that they take to their knives. In general the Gilyak reaches for
his knife at the first feeling of irritation, but he is by far not as
prone to resort to weapons as the southerner. Fear of Russian
justice has had a beneficent influence on him in this respect. The
Gilyak youths, fearing being borne away by passion, have begun
to throw down their knives before beginning to wrestle. But
Russian vodka has caused frequent slayings among Amur Gilyak in
an intoxicated condition. I shall not discuss the murders committed
deliberately to satisfy the demands of clan vengeance or
conjugal honor. Such murders are regarded by the Gilyak as
lawful, although with the settlement of the Russians they have begun
to disappear.

683 Insults by word or deed are also an infrequent phenomenon
among the Gilyak and end in either a reconciliation or a duel. In
the first case, the offending party, recognizing his guilt, atones
for it, voluntarily presenting the injured party with dogs, a robe,

/383 cont./
683 and other objects. In the second case the adversaries fight it out
[411] with cudgels until one side admits defeat. The Gilyak are most
[868] proficient at wielding cudgels. The Gilyak study this art from
[859] childhood, and the children give themselves up with passion to
this noble exercise, even by moonlight on frosty winter nights.
628 In their civil relationships, as a general rule, the Gilyak display
648 veracity, fidelity to their word, and conscientiousness. /384/
177 Unfortunately, the destructive influence of the rascally population of the Amur region has begun to extend even to the most remote Gilyak settlements. A few individuals imbibe wisdom at Nikolayevsk, and it is enough to enmesh whole settlements in deceit and to breed imitators and a whole mass of interminable lawsuits. The court and mediation of the clansmen, still exerting authority within the clan, are becoming powerless when the quarrel is between members of different clans. The Gilyak have the custom of turning to a mixed assembly of "khlay-nivukhi" of different clans for the resolution of mutual disputes. But at the
[178] present time this institution is losing its strength, since the Russified Gilyak, who are simultaneously the chief culprits of dissension and lawsuits, deny to it respect and competence. The Russian administration is going to impart authority to this court of "wise" and honorable men by sanctioning the "khlay-nivukhi" by election, regulating the time of their meetings, the area of their authority, etc. And a first condition is that the "khlay-nivukhi" be of various clans. Observation has shown that the Gilyak are able to elect men intelligently and to appreciate the importance of the elected court sanctioned by the Russian administration.

V

Statistical Data

121 In conclusion, in order to provide some idea of the num-
128 ber of Sakhalin Gilyak and to present their economic status more

/384 cont./

128 realistically, we consider it appropriate to cite some of the nu-
[121] merical data obtained by us on these questions during the detailed
1891 census. In doing so, it seems more convenient to deal separately with: (a) the western coast, between the Aleksandrovsk post and cape Marii (the northernmost extremity of the western coast); and (b) the eastern coast and the basin of the Tym' River between Cape De La Kroyer and Cape Levenshtern (the northern extremity of the eastern coast).

103 (a) The western coast. There are 25 Gilyak winter settle-
361 ments between the Aleksandrovsk post and Cape Marii. They are
located in the following order: Arkyyvo, Yamy, Manginay,
Tangi, Khoe (Khoi), Viakhtu, Tyki, Vaaz, Nyyde (1), Noksy,
Tyrki, Tengi, Tal'votigrvo (2), Marnlvo, Nyanivo, Marvo,
Vaskhonkhvo, Kitnidvo, /385/ Tamlyvo, Lirkryvo, Viskvo,
[114] Pomr (1), Pil'vo, Tumi, and Nyur. The village of Koybygrvo,
which is marked on the map north of Nyur, no longer exists. In
162 the settlements enumerated there are 78 yurts in which 245 family-
households live (2). The total population is 1,041, of whom

[167] 1. Formerly the area of this settlement was inhabited by the Tungus, whose grave monuments, consisting of boxes with crosses on top of them, are still preserved on the low sandy shore of the strait.

[491] 2. There is a road from here to the settlement of Lyangr on the mainland.

[491] 1. There is a road from here to the village of Kekhrvo on the Okhotsk coast (one or two days).

[592] [128] 2. By the word "family" is understood here first, any married couple, adult

[The western Coast]

162 592 128 /385 cont./

or adolescent, living apart from their parents or not, and therefore "households" are counted separately, and, secondly, widows and widowers and their children, and also orphans (brothers and sisters) who live as a single household.

162 595 [161] The total population is 1,041, of whom 561 are male and 480 female; the adults (including adolescents) number 678; there are 278 married or widowed persons, and 32 male polygamists (four of these have three wives each and the others two each); for each polygamist there are nine individuals who have only one wife each (3). The number of children who

[589] 3. Under the rubric of "married we have also included widowed persons, since, in order to have accurate percentage figures for the bachelors and polygamists, widowed persons must be considered along with the married persons. [128] [784] The terms "polygamist" and "bigamist" are used interchangeably, since, though there are no prohibitions in this regard, we have not met on the Okhotsk shore a single case where a native had more than two wives; on the western shore and on the Amur many Gilyak have three or four wives each.

163 165 The number of children who survived birth is 515, while the number of those who died at birth is 247, so the rate of infant mortality is at least 33% (4); the

[124] 4. For lack of a better method, the number of children was ascertained by asking each married man the questions: (1) how many of his children were present (the name of each child was called out and written down one by one) and how many were absent; (2) how

[the Western Coast]

/385 cont./

124 many of his children had died between
163 the beginning of his marriage and the
165 date of the census. In this way, we obtained an exact number of the children in a given family, living and dead. Hence, it was easy to calculate the rate of mortality.

163
165 fertility rate -- 2.7%, although this figure is below the actual one, for in the number of married people were included, on the one hand, children for whom their parents had bought child wives, and, on the other hand, adults who were married to child wives.
162 There is an average of 12 people living in each yurt, although
592 there are a number of yurts with several dozens of inhabitants; for example, one yurt in the settlement of Nyanivo accommodated 42 persons of the same clan.

103 As to the size of the winter settlements, the largest of
162 these are the following: Tamlyvo and Lirkryvo (144 persons each), Viskvo (116); Nyur (103), Arkyyvo (87), Tal'votigrvo and Tengi (64 each), Kitnidvo and Pomr (59 each), Nyanivo (58); the smallest settlements are Yamy (4 persons), Vaaz (8), Noksy (9). In the summer the most densely populated settlement is Tamlyvo.

224 Seals killed in all the settlements during the last season,
225 1,026; sables killed in the settlements nearest to the Aleksandrovsk
433 post, 258 (5). /386/ There are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
000

[126] 5. The number of fur animals and so forth killed during the last season was obtained from reports of the Gilyak themselves. These figures are most probably somewhat below the actual ones. The starosta in the village of Kitnidvo, for instance, deliberately tried to persuade his people not to tell the truth to the Russians, who, according to him, would come and take away the bounty . . .

411
422 /386/ there are 143 guns, 201 boats (one boat
581 to every five persons), and 2,100 dogs. To make some money,
231
000

[The western Coast]

166 /386 cont./ To make some money,
464 115 individuals, i.e., one-sixth of the adult population, make
183 the trip to Nikolayevsk. The settlements richest in seals and
433 dolphins are Tamlyvo, Viskvo, Pomr, and Tangi; this last is
[244] also richer in sables than the others. Potatoes are raised by the
[162] Gilyak in Khoe and Tangi. In the settlement of Tyki, the
[177] Gilyak have made a request concerning the settlement among
[244] them of at least one Russian with whose help they could raise
224 potatoes. The settlement of Tyki should be mentioned for sev-
433 eral other reasons. In the first place, starting from this point
178 the Gilyak are ceasing to hunt sables because of the overwhelming
648 competition from the Tungus who have killed off the sables in the
vicinity of the settlement and now pursue them on their reindeer.
Before the appearance of the Tungus, the Gilyak were very suc-
342 cessful in hunting wild deer and sables. In the second place, be-
178 ginning at this settlement one notices a progressive improvement
354 in the construction of the winter yurts. In Tyki the dugout rises
[237] a little above the ground, it has windows made of fish skin, and
in one yurt even of glass; in the middle of the yurt, instead
of a smoking hearth, one finds a chimney-like stove with a pipe.
Farther on, beginning with the settlement of Tengi, one encounters
enormous yurts with half a dozen large windows and a fairly com-
plex heating system which resembles our steam heating. The
horizontal stone pipes which lead out from the stove and stretch
along the wall under the plank beds serve mainly to heat these
latter; the smoke goes through a subterranean passage into a
high vertical pipe which is made of a hollow tree trunk especially
[184] adapted for this purpose. A similar system of heating is used by
[171] the Amur Gilyak and in the fanza /houses/ of the Manchu, from
[177] whom it may have been borrowed.

133 As to the character of the region, the maritime sections
[137] of the western coast are mostly tundra-like, with sparse vegeta-
[491] tion. The road runs partly along the sea, partly through the
taiga, and occasionally over the mountain ridges. Near the
settlement of Pomr the coast becomes more elevated, and, be-
ginning at the summer settlement of Muz'vo, it strikingly

[The western Coast]

/386 cont./

133 resembles the shore between the Due (Aleksandrovsk) post and the
settlement of Tangi, but it is more picturesque and ends near the
last settlement, Nyur, with the magnificent Cape Marii, which
is called "Mif-Chongr" (the head of the snake) by the Gilyak
and resembles /387/ Cape Zhonkier, which is symmetrical with
it, but it is higher and more picturesque, especially in winter
when its numerous cone-shaped crests, covered with snow, look
135 like the gigantic tents of a huge camp. It seems that even the
mineral deposits are the same, only more characteristic. The
137 vegetation of the coast is both richer and fresher than near the
Aleksandrovsk post. Birches, rose-willows, aspens, to say nothing
of the tall coniferous trees, have managed to grow safely along
132 the very shore. The wind is never as destructive or as continuous
[133] here as along "our" coast. Pomr Bay is fully protected from the
[504] winds, and, according to the local inhabitants, it can easily be
135 entered by large ships. A kerosene lake lies 30 versts from the
491 settlement of Pomr. The road to it is through taiga and tundra.

(b) The eastern coast and the Tym' Basin. 1) The Gilyak
103 settlements that lie between Cape De-la-Kroyer and Cape Virsta
361 are: Mos'bvo, Us'kvo, Slyavo, Adytym' (1), Khomrvo, Plyuvo,
Perivo. 2) On the Okhotsk coast the settlement of Nyyvo, and south of it the settlements: Mil'kvo, Nabil'vo, Chokhzlvo, Lungvo, Khongi, Pil'ngi, Chamrvo, Ngambevo (there are no inhabited areas farther south); to the north of Nyyvo are the Gilyak settlements: Teyarvo, Tyrmyts, Larvo, Vangrvo, Chayvo, Chon'kh, Ytvo, Ashvo, and Kekhrvo.

361 Thus, on this coast there are 25 (2) Gilyak settlements with 109 yurts.

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[824] 1. Wild hemp grows in the vicinity of this settlement, from which the Gilyak make their nets, coming even from distant settlements.

114
361
103 2. In the manuscript, 24. Perhaps the author did not include in the number of

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/387 cont./

114 settlements the settlement of Mos'bvo
36 on the banks of the Tym' River, seven
103 versts from the settlement of Rykovskoye.
361 In connection with this settlement of
221 Mos'bvo, the author makes the following comment: "It is inhabited only in autumn and winter. In spring and summer the inhabitants pass on to the western coast, mainly to the village of Arkyvo, where in the early spring they hunt seals and during the summer catch fish which are not to be found in the Tym' at this time of the year. At the beginning of August, before the Siberian salmon run, the population returns to their winter dwellings." Editors of the journal, Etnogr. Obozr."

000 with 109 yurts. The total population here is 703 persons (197
16 on the Tym' River, 506 on the Okhotsk coast), of whom 416
are male and 287, female; there are 169 families and 133
households, 483 adults, 175 married persons, 9 male polygamists, average fertility -- 3; 332 children survived birth; 169
422 died. Guns -- 64 (of these 30 are on the Okhotsk coast and
231 the remainder on the Tym'), 121 nets, 122 boats, 1,480 dogs.
501
411 During the last season 688 seals killed, 586 sables, 134 foxes,
433 43 otters, and 63 bears.

162 From this one can draw the following conclusions: here
592 there are, on the average, six persons per yurt, an average
family has /388/ four to five members; there are 11 married males for one bachelor (1), one bigamist in 19 married men.

[589] 1. The word bachelor is applied only to older, so to speak, inveterate bachelors.

1: Shternberg--548 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

/388 cont./

162 The ratio of the number of males to that of females (416:287) is
such that there are 694 females per 1,000 males. In Russia there
are 1,023 females per 1,000 males, and in Asia as a whole 960
165 females per 1,000 males. The infant mortality rate is 33.7%.
231 Every Gilyak, on the average, has two dogs and each adult Gilyak,
422 three dogs. There is very little hunting equipment, especially
411 guns, on the whole.

614 The Tymovskie and the Okhotsk Gilyak belong to 18 clans (2),
162
of which especially numerous clans are: Chuy-guy in the settlement of Chayvo (114 persons), Ady-Tymovskiy (156 persons),
Mymyzi in Nyyvo (94 persons), Urlandzh in Chayvo (55 persons).
361 The most notable settlements in population are: Chayvo (151 per-
103 sons), Kekhrvo (90 persons), Nyyvo (46 persons), Tekhrvo (51
162 persons), and on the Tym' -- the trinity of settlements, Ady-Tym'
and the neighboring Khomrvo and Plyuvo (106 persons), not counting the immigrant population from the western coast, Moz'bvo
20 (Rykovskoe, 56 persons), and others. Communication between the
361 first two of these settlements, Chayvo and Kekhrvo, is extremely
[484] difficult; aside from the shallow water, the journey is difficult
because in several places it is necessary to carry the boats over long
stretches of dry land. As has been mentioned above, there is
communication from the settlement of Kekhrvo to the village of
Pomr and the western shore.

[1.26] 2. The property of each person has been
registered to this or that clan, the figures
on the number of clans, etc.

133 North of Kekhrvo the coast is uninhabited, and summer
484 travel to the north is extremely difficult and completely impossible
along the shore itself for lack of any means of transportation
484 across the wide mouths of numerous bays. The only means of
492 transportation is on reindeer by way of the taiga and over the
mountain ridges. If one adds to this the fact that a draft reindeer
makes its way with great difficulty in the summer, it is clear
how difficult and slow such a journey is.

1:Shternberg--549 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2 Tungus R45

[The eastern Coast and the Tym' Basin]

T /388 cont./

361 The inhabitants of the village of Kekhrvo say that in the
[103] extreme north -- above Cape Levenshtern -- there is a small
[162] settlement of Orochon on the coast -- Trond (two yurts with six
G [103] men and three women). It has communications with the western
T coast by way of the settlement of Pomr (a 24 hour trip on reindeer,
[484] although from Kekhrvo it takes 10-15 days in the summer). The
[492] remaining Sakhalin settlements of Orochon, as well as the settle-
G T ments of the Tungus, were also described in detail during the
[128] census. We shall not, however, include the details about these
peoples in the present article, which deals only with the Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--550 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur

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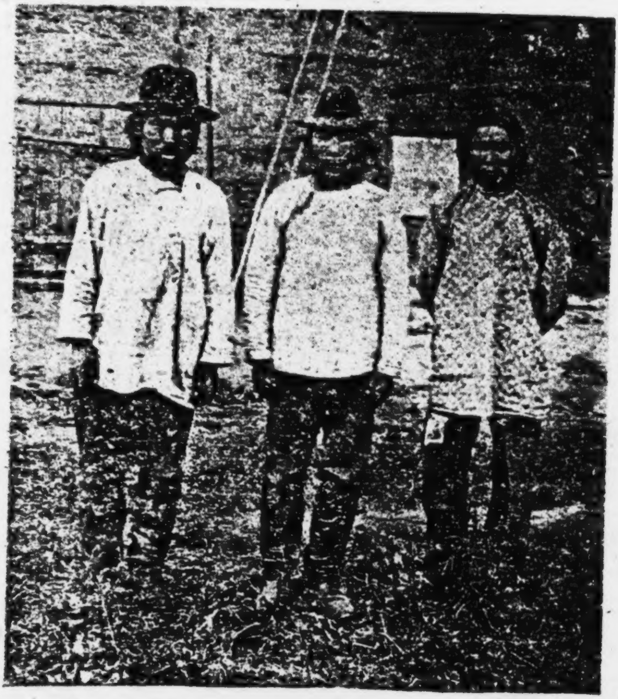

Photo. 16. Amur Gilyak.

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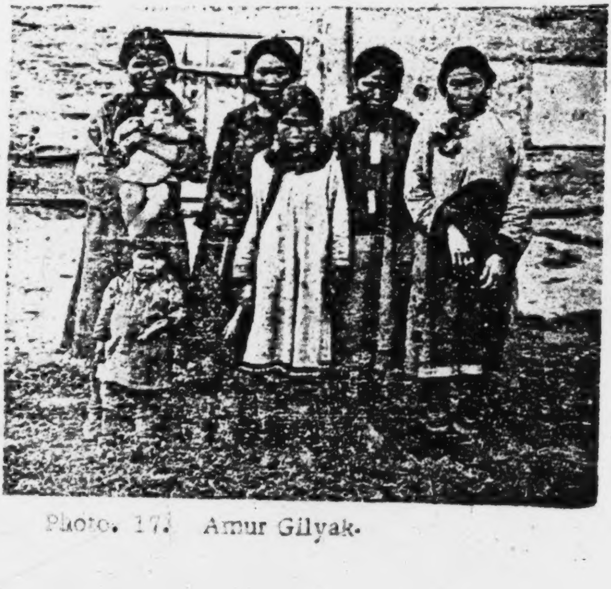

Photo. 17. Amur Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--551 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

Amur
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Photo. 18. Amur Gilyak.

Photo. 19. Sakhalin Gilyak.

Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

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Photo. 20. Amur Gilyak.

Amur
Sakhalin

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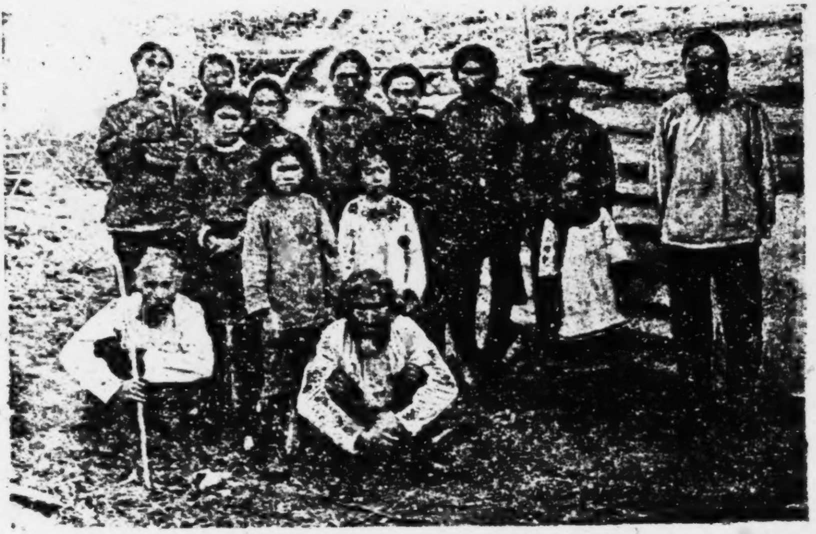

Photo. 22. Amur Gilyak.

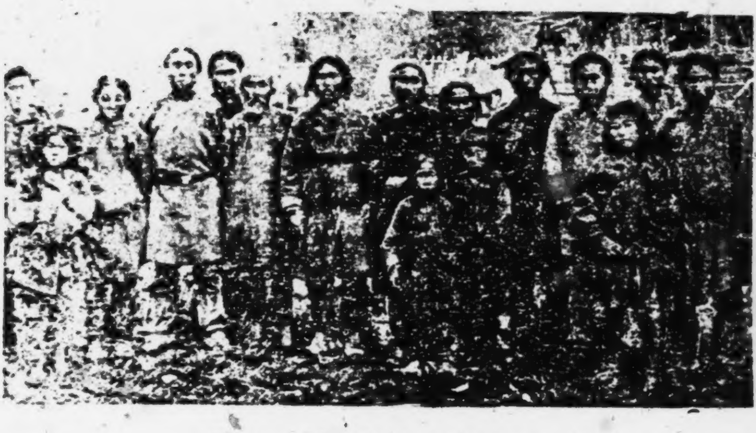

Photo. 23. Sakhalin Gilyak.

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Photo. 24. Sakhalin Gilyak,

Photo. 25. Sakhalin Gilyak.

1:Shternberg--554 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910)1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
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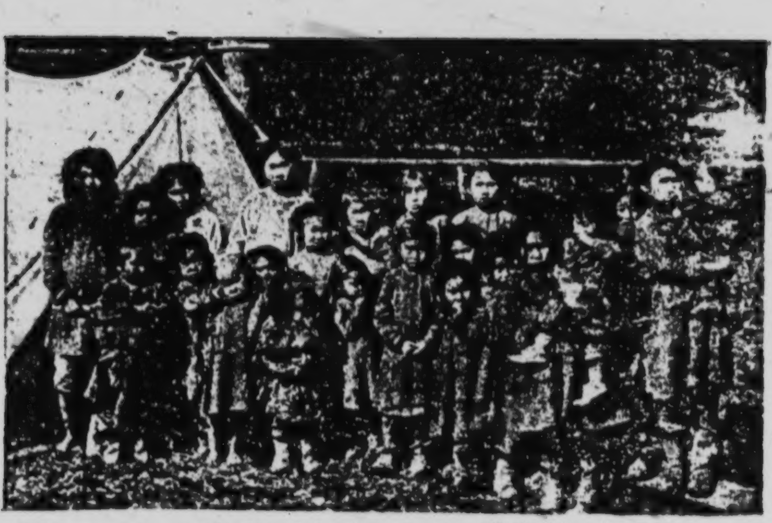

Photo. 26. Sakhalin Gilyak. Group of children.

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/General information on the author and his work, written by I͡A. P. Al'kor (Koshkin), will be found in category 116, pp. 1-26, 30-33./

1: Shternberg RX2 Gilyak RX2

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/Information on the author's reconstruction of the development of Gilyak marriage norms, cousin marriage and kinship terminology, will be found in category 116, pp. 282-299, 316-328 and 331-347./

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/For an intensive study of the Gilyak kinship classification system and its significance, see category 116, pp. 196-226./

/For general information on the Gilyak clan (sib), its role and function in the society and interclan relationships, see category 116, pp. 130-193 and 299-316./

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/Information on "group marriage," the right to sexual intercourse between the classes *pu* and *anǧ:ej*, will be found in category 595./

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/For information on "group marriage," the right to sexual intercourse between members of the *pu* and *ang:ej* classes, see category 116, pp. 251-275, and 329-345./